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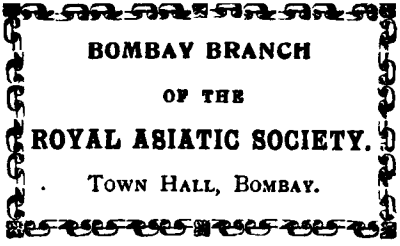

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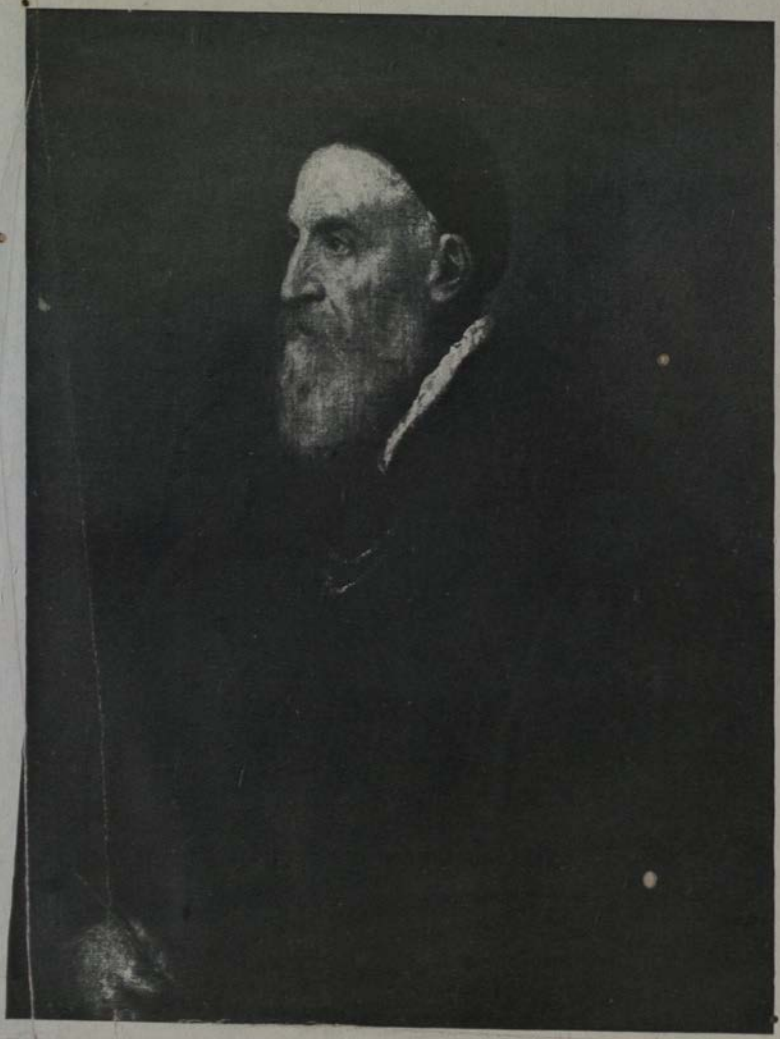

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TITIAN

PRADO, MADRID

TITIAN

BY

GEORG GRONAU

22902
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LONDON: DUCKWORTH AND CO.
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1904

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PREFACE

This book appeared first in the German edition four years ago. (Berlin: Ernst Hofmann & Co. 1900.) It was addressed, not to the narrow circle of art critics, but rather to those in whom a profound impression, created by Titian's art, had awakened the desire to learn something about the production of his works and the life and personality of the artist.

The basis of information for this as for every biography of Titian is Crowe and Cavalcaselle's work in two volumes. There the whole biographical material then available is to be found, handled with that accuracy which gives to all the works of these writers their lasting value; and the pictures scattered throughout Europe, executed by Titian or in his studio, are all critically examined. It is the author's obvious duty to call attention to his great indebtedness to this most excellent work.

Some critics, however, having evidently only hurriedly glanced through both books, and certainly not taken the trouble to note wherein the new account differs from the

older, have asserted that this little book is merely an epitome of the larger work. To them I cannot but emphatically insist that my book is the result of many years of preparatory study and of a perfectly independent criticism of the works of art. Valuable biographical material has been utilised which was not made known till after the appearance of the work of Crowe and Cavalcaselle—I allude especially to the researches of Zarco del Valle, Schönherr, Bertolotti, Luzio, and Beer; moreover, when appreciating the works of art and determining their date, differences of opinion have resulted which have often led to a perfectly different classification. For example, the account of Titian's youthful development varies totally from that given by those authors, and in my opinion this new view is most nearly correct, although, as any sort of documentary evidence is here lacking, the difficulties in coming to any conclusion are especially great.

Besides, my object was to produce, not so much a collection of material as a biography, in which the characteristics of the several periods of Titian's artistic career should be clearly brought out, his relations to each of his prominent patrons treated as a connected whole, and, finally, any facts that throw light on his personality put together, in order that the reader might be enabled to form for himself a clear picture both of the artist and of the man. A strictly chronological grouping of the subject-matter, such as Crowe and Cavalcaselle have adopted, was excluded by my method of arrangement.

This being the end in view, it was possible to refrain from including absolutely every work of Titian acknowledged to be genuine, and from introducing every existing notice concerning him. It was often sufficient to form several allied pictures into a group and thus to devote but a few words to each individual work.

Controversial points have purposely been avoided. These have their proper place in periodicals of art criticism, not in a book intended to be read by the wider circles of those who take pleasure in art. I may remark here that the views expressed by Mr. Herbert Cook in his book on Giorgione, partly in opposition to me, have not led me to alter my opinion. Nor has the discussion carried on publicly between us concerning the year of Titian's birth succeeded in convincing me that we should place that event so far forward as Mr. Cook would have it—1489 or 1490.

The list of pictures given in this English edition is new, and I was reluctant to introduce it. For a list of this kind to have real value the whole material should be reviewed critically and in detail and the reason given why this or that picture ought not to be regarded as genuine. It would be specially important also to notice those works of Titian's, the originals of which are lost but which are preserved in more or less faithful copies and often still unrecognised. Such a catalogue, however, would require a volume to itself. I hope at some future time to publish these materials in a "Corpus Titiani Operum," when I

have been able to look again through the whole mass of material now obtainable.

The results of the most recent researches, made since the year 1900, have been utilised for this edition. The section on Titian's relations to the Court of Urbino has been entirely rewritten, grounded on the hitherto almost unexplored records of the della Rovere family, which are preserved in the State archives of Florence and which for some years past I have been examining carefully.

Unfortunately these discoveries in the records have not led to the identification of the numerous pictures executed for those princes, although it can be proved that they were brought to Florence in the seventeenth century. One picture alone I found by chance when walking through the State rooms in the Palazzo Pitti in company with my friend Dr. Emil Schäffer—an exquisite portrait of a lady, described to visitors as the portrait of Catharine de' Medici by Tintoretto. This gives us hope that from unknown quarters others of the lost pictures may also be forthcoming.

In selecting the illustrations less well-known works have been chosen rather than those that are everywhere popular. Some pictures are here reproduced for the first time. I acknowledge my debt of gratitude to Prince Chigi for permission to have photographed the portrait of Aretino in his possession, and to Mr. Walter Bourke, and Mr. Lionel Cust, as well as to Messrs. Constable, for allowing three subjects to be reproduced from their important

publication dealing with Lord Ellesmere's splendid collection at Bridgewater House; to Lord Darnley for permission to reproduce the portrait of Ariosto; to Mrs. Gardner also for a like permission with regard to the "Rape of Europa," a photograph of which, by Mr. John La Farge, was placed at our disposal; and to Dr. Ludwig for enabling the picture in San Salvatore to be included.

It is a pleasure to me to recall the large amount of assistance I have received in many cases, from no one more than Dr. Ludwig, who, with unfailing care, provided me with material little known, or that he had recently discovered. I hope that those who directly or indirectly have furthered the production of this volume may feel that their help has not been bestowed in vain.

GEORG GRONAU.

San Domenico di Fiesole,
April 1904.

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CHAPTER I

CADORE AND VENICE. THE VENETIAN SCHOOL OF PAINTING

High up among the mountains of Cadore, on the road uniting Italy with the Tyrol, lies the township of Pieve, where Titian first saw the light. Magnificent scenery of mingled beauty and wildness surrounds the birthplace of the greatest colourist Italy has ever produced. There the Dolomites rear their jagged summits, and the Piave, forcing for itself a pathway through them, disappears beneath the crags and issues forth again, roaring and foaming far below in the abyss. Huge forests add to the impression of savage grandeur, whilst verdant meadows acquire in such surroundings a double charm.

On this rude soil grew up a poor but sturdy and courageous race of men, who, though their life was a hard one, clung to their land, and were ever ready to contend for their possession of it and for their ancient freedom. It was not until the Doge had confirmed their ancestral rights that the men of Cadore allowed their land to become in 1421 a portion of the Republic of Venice, and thus to form a far extended outpost of the Venetian power.

As far back as the fourteenth century the name of Vecellio occurs in Pieve di Cadore. Members of the family showed themselves in many ways capable and

energetic burghers in the councils of their native town. Gregorio Vecelli, the son of Conte, was noted for wisdom in council and courage in the profession of arms. For many years he commanded the troops of his native town, and was painted, clad in armour, by his celebrated son. Through the confidence of his fellow townsmen he was appointed to numerous offices. It seems he was not richly endowed with worldly goods; he owned, in that quarter of the town known as Lovera, adjoining the little Arsenal square, a modest house built of stone and wood, two storeys high, with a courtyard attached. Here his wife Lucia, of whom we know nothing but her name, bore him a son, Titian. He was the second child of the marriage. One son, Francesco, was about two or three years older, and two sisters followed, Orsola and Caterina.

Documents are silent as regards the year of Titian's birth, his artistic education, and his first efforts in art; they tell us nothing until he has already reached manhood.

The years 1477 and 1480 are mentioned as the date of his birth by those who directly or indirectly were in a position to know it. Titian, writing on the first of August 1571 to Philip II., describes himself as ninety-five years old; according to that he was born in 1476. We may place the year of the Master's birth most correctly between 1476 and 1482, the last date being the extreme limit.

It is evident that at an early age both the sons of Gregorio Vecelli displayed remarkable artistic gifts. Francesco was twelve years old, Titian nine or ten, when their father brought them to Venice, where a brother of his resided. "This brother took the boy (Titian) at once to Sebastiano Zuccati," about whom little is known except that he was the father of two sons renowned as

D. Anderson

ST. MARK, WITH SAINTS COSMO AND DAMIAN, SEBASTIAN AND ROCH

SANTA MARIA DELLA SALUTE, VENICE

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.ic-workers; he handed the boy on to Gentile Bellini, ose studio Titian afterwards left for that of the younger ther, Giovanni Bellini. We are told this by Ludovico . lce, who wrote in 1557 during the lifetime of Titian, nd was personally acquainted with him.

How great must have been the contrast between the home where Titian passed the first ten years of his childhood and the city which for the remainder of his life was to be his true home, between the little country town where all men knew each other, lying quiet and lonely among the mountains, enlivened only by the itinerant traders carrying their wares from place to place, and the greatest commercial city in the world of that day, admired by all f r its unique and fascinating beauty. "C'est la plus triomphante cité que j'aye jamais veu!" writes Philippe de mines in 1495, who had travelled much; and words such as these recur in endless variety in the numerous descriptions we possess of the city at that time.

Venice was then at the zenith of her power. The erritory under the rule of the Republic had reached its widest extent. The wars with the Turks, notwithstanding some reverses, had not yet shaken the State, nor had the discovery of new roads for commerce yet diverted the stream of wealth. Here was the place where Europe and the East exchanged their wares. On the Rialto, the centre of commercial activity in the town, were heard the lan- ages of all nations, and representatives of the most ed races were to be seen carrying on their trade. And only here was a changeful, gaily coloured picture nted to the eye. All the more important events at took place, from the festivities of the patrician nilies to the great ceremonies of State, assumed in this

remarkable town a gorgeous character. The magnificence of the patricians, who, as a body, represented the State, contributed not a little to make of all occasions on which they appeared a most charming picture, brilliant in colour. Great public processions, the so-called Andate, recurred every year to keep in mind for all time important incidents of an eventful past. Then the highest officials, the nobles, the ecclesiastical orders, the brotherhoods and trade guilds accompanied the Doge, and this procession on the most magnificent stage in the world furnished of itself a scene ready for a painter. We can learn from Goethe how, even in the last days of the Republic, an Andata of this kind could enchant an impressionable artistic eye. In the various quarters of the town there was no lack of less important festivities. Nowhere in the world was the natural taste of the populace for spectacular display so extensively indulged as in Venice.

We are inclined to believe this betokens also a special delight in colour inherent in this people. "Colouring gives more pleasure in Venice than anywhere else," is a remark of Vasari's. Nothing illustrates more strikingly the taste of the Venetians than the exterior of the two principal buildings in the town, St. Mark's Church and the Ducal Palace, the former with its rich adornment of mosaics, the latter with the incrustation of harmonious tints. Profuse decoration of house-fronts with frescoes, more universal in Venice and her dominions than in any other part of Italy, was, no doubt, the latest outcome of this delight in colour.

With such an evident inclination for coloured adornment, painting in this town would necessarily tend towards brilliancy of tone. In the history of painting in other

towns, especially in Florence, colour for its own sake appears as the transient aim of some individual artist specially gifted in this direction, whereas in Venice it was the main object of all, encouraged by the evident sympathy of the whole people. It is a fact of conclusive significance that the great Venetian masters were simply painters; unlike the majority of their Florentine contemporaries, they did not build, nor did they handle the chisel. As a result of this we may often notice that their attention was not exclusively, nor even principally, directed to contour in their pictures. We do not wish to revive again the old reproach, which, since the days of Vasari, has been constantly raised against the Venetians, that they neglected drawing—in fact, that they could not draw; this is refuted sufficiently by every important picture of the Venetian School, from the Vivarini to Tintoretto. But form was not for them the sole or principal object; they regarded it merely as one of the factors in the composition, and gave to the distribution of colour the same importance as to the drawing. They defined a composition not only by the lines, but at the same time and chiefly by harmony of colour, and this gives to their art its unfailing charm.

Painting did not come to perfection till late in Venice. There were too many practical tasks to be performed, and the feeling for art with the Venetians ripened slowly. Even at the beginning of the fifteenth century, when it was determined to renew the decoration of the walls in the Hall of Great Council in the Ducal Palace, artists had to be summoned from places outside—Vittore Pisano from Verona and Gentile da Fabriano. The idea of national art, in a narrow provincial sense, had not yet arisen in this period nor among this people.

A decisive direction was given to the development of style in Venetian art by the fact that painting in fresco, with the exception of the decoration of house-fronts, was only employed to a limited extent. Sad experience had taught the Venetians that the sea air threatened every fresco with destruction, even inside a building. Hence they were compelled, if they wished to decorate large wall spaces, to stretch canvas over them. And this is the reason why, in Venice, oil-painting became so quickly predominant, while in Florence, for decades, the two technical methods, oil and tempera, were employed side by side. To fill in tempera the great spaces to be decorated, which elsewhere were treated in fresco, was, no doubt, possible, but a waste of time.

The commissions entrusted to artists were of two kinds. At one time the Church claimed their powers to the full. About the middle of the fifteenth century numerous altars in the Venetian churches must have been devoid of pictorial adornment. Here was a great opening for painters, and, as we shall see, finely composed altar pictures developed with surprising rapidity from the old altar-piece in architectural compartments. Then the State, in its turn, gave a fresh impulse to painting. The sumptuous decoration of the Ducal Palace is one of those undertakings in which political considerations may have carried as much weight as the feeling that the encouragement of art is a point of honour with a cultured State. Every man on entering the palace should, from the splendour of its decoration, gain an immediate impression of the power of Venice. The richest pictorial adornment was assigned to the hall in which the great Council held its sittings. And here the difference between Florence and Venice has been rightly insisted

on. In Florence schemes were started but not concluded, and the incomparable cartoons of Leonardo and Michelangelo were never carried out; whereas in Venice, in a comparatively short time, a gigantic space was adorned with a cyclus of wall-pictures, and this decoration was renewed three times over.

The example set by the State was followed by the Scuole or brotherhoods of Venice, among whom the six greatest (*scuole grandi*) were conspicuous for their wealth. After the middle of the fifteenth century they had the walls of their council halls adorned by the foremost artists of the town with a series of paintings illustrative of the miracles of the Saints, after whom the brotherhoods were named, or of the history of some precious relic they had the good fortune to possess, or some subject of a like nature. Thus arose a series of extensive decorative works of historical interest.

Two artist families and their schools divided these works between them, and were competing for the foremost place at the time when Titian, then a boy eager to learn, entered the artistic life of Venice. These two schools may be shortly called in modern terms the Seniors and the Juniors. The seniors employed their powers especially in ecclesiastical art. Their efforts were primarily directed to altar-pieces, and their principal care was that these pictures should appeal to the religious feeling of the crowd; they therefore adhered closely to the older traditional forms. It is obvious that the "polyptych" or many-panelled altar-piece, a style which they preferred, is not favourable to free artistic development. A beautifully carved framework of Gothic design encloses the whole structure, which is divided into several, often very many, compartments by

little carved columns or pilasters. Into each of these separate spaces was introduced the figure of a saint, severe, dignified, often nobly conceived, but any real artistic composition was by this arrangement of framework almost entirely excluded. So closely did these artists identify themselves with the received style for works of this kind, that when they painted an altar picture in which all the figures were grouped on to one panel they put into them something of that stiffness inherent in altar-pieces in the Gothic style. The saints still stand singly, as if an invisible wooden frame were dividing them. The solemn dignity of such figures is best suited by a conventional background—a gold ground or even a marble wall. The foremost representatives of this branch of art were the Vivarini, two brothers, Antonio and Bartolomeo, together with Alvise, the son of the former, who as a teacher exercised a far-reaching influence. Bartolomeo Vivarini, gifted with a severely realistic sense, produced highly impressive figures, while impassioned feeling, not always sufficiently under control, inspired Alvise to create personages who were dignified in action or full of fiery emotion.

Amongst the juniors the Bellini family took the lead. Jacopo, its oldest member, had been a pupil of that Umbrian painter, Gentile, whom the Signoria had formerly appointed to decorate the Hall of Great Council. He had travelled much, and had learnt something of the progress of art in foreign towns. Unhappily his work has perished, with the exception of a few pieces of minor importance. However, he evidently possessed delicate feeling for grace and colour, though he was limited in his expression of form. A fortunate chance has preserved for us (in London and Paris) two books of sketches by his

hand, and these give us some insight into the wonderfully rich gifts of this man. His genius evidently prompted him to design extensive decorative works, in which he by preference selected a religious theme as a pretext for treating all sorts of incidents with an easy freedom, though they held but slight connection with his main subject; a profusion of splendid palaces and noble churches, gorgeous processions, troops, nobles, and varied crowds; so much material, indeed, did he gather together that the real story almost disappeared.

Two sons, Gentile and Giovanni, inherited his artistic talent. Gentile's gifts were most nearly allied to those of his father. No one was more capable than he of covering huge spaces with long drawn out stories. A natural aptitude for acute observation of form came most fortunately into play when a great number of portraits had to be introduced into these pictures. His mode of seeing and catching a likeness was that of a man whose intellect was stronger than his feeling. His brother possessed other talents, and never devoted his powers to decorative work so much as Gentile. His was the grateful and noble task of freeing sacred pictures from the severe style of the earlier school, and in this he was assisted by his natural feeling for beauty. He was able with equal success to portray grace and tranquil beauty in woman and strength in man. His saintly personages are typical examples of a noble race of perfect beings. They are grandly grouped together in a solemn and beautiful composition. Never is the eye disturbed by the balance of this composition, though it is strictly adhered to. A wonderful emotional feeling is imparted to us by these altar-pieces of Giovanni Bellini's where we see a number of saints collected together in a

noble temple, listening in silent devotion to the sound of instruments which angel-boys are playing at the feet of the Madonna. Emotion was something new to Venetian art, and it was the gift which Giovanni Bellini bequeathed to his fellow countrymen.

But not only in this was he an innovator. He sweeps away the walls of the churches where the Madonna sits enthroned, and in the background frequently loves to show an open and sunny landscape, with its meadows and trees and blue mountains in the distance, and overhead a brilliant sky in which are floating quiet snow-white clouds. Sometimes it is only a scanty peep to right and left, at others a broader outlook into the country, but always it wafts, as it were, a fresher breath into the close air of the church. And where the sacred subject, as in "The Baptism of Christ" or "The Transfiguration," permits of treatment in landscape, and always in the few pictures in which he can indulge the free expression of his fancy, he depicts the scenery of his native place with exquisite power and with a beauty of colour hardly to be equalled. The "Allegory of Love," the little *cassone* panel in the Academy at Venice, with its wonderfully beautiful effect of sunset over a quiet mountain lake, shows us Giovanni Bellini's highest achievement in landscape.

Many generations of famous disciples have followed in his footsteps. Among the elder of these, Vittore Carpaccio was the most prolific, a story-teller never at a loss for ideas, known to fame as the creator of the cyclus of the St. Ursula legend. It is he who, after the loss of the most important wall pictures of the Venetian School, best represents for us the epoch of epic painting in Venice.

Among the younger men who may have worked together

with Titian in Bellini's studio were Palma Vecchio and Sebastiano Luciani, later surnamed del Piombo. But there was one among them, almost of the same age as Titian—perhaps about one or two years younger—whose gift far exceeded the abilities of his comrades: Giorgione of Castelfranco. He was one of those great men who exercise an immediate and soul-stirring influence on all who come in contact with them. He evidently ripened early, displaying when almost a mere boy his rich talents in works of astounding novelty. He developed more and more with each successive effort, and left Venetian painting absolutely revolutionised at the end of his short career as an artist. He died in 1510 at the age of thirty-two. Artistic charm and deep restrained feeling, poetic conception, and indescribable grace make the few pictures we still possess of his—scarcely more than a dozen—the most refined and exquisite creations of this rich epoch of the development of European art. All ages and all nations have united in praise of Giorgione. His life and his artistic career were of short duration, but the effect which he produced was unlimited. As a man he delighted all who knew him, and so fascinated them that the highest in the land sought his company. As an artist he so transformed the appearance of all things, showing the world and nature under such a new and lovely aspect that no man could venture any longer to work after the old method, unless he were prepared to live forgotten and to sink to the level of a provincial painter—such was the end of Carpaccio. Even the venerable Giovanni Bellini, then more than seventy years old but still retaining his vigour, accepted the challenge of his talented pupil and, in the last ten years of his life, entirely transformed his method as a painter. The younger

masters, Giorgione's fellow workers, followed with delight the new road now opened before them. They gazed on the world with his eyes, imbued their works with his feeling, his subjects inspired them and incited them to analogous creations—songs in praise of youth and beauty, sunshine and nature. Titian above all attached himself closely to the Master of Castelfranco, and for nearly two decades worked in the spirit of Giorgione.

From a Carbon-print by Braun, Clément & Co., Dornach, Alsace

JACOPO PESARO DOING HOMAGE TO S. PETER

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CHAPTER II

TITIAN AND GIORGIONE

No document gives definite information on the events of Titian's life until he had passed his thirtieth year, and in like manner reliable evidence is lacking which could help us to arrange in accurate chronological order the earliest works by his hand. We must here fall back on arguments based on criticism of his style, and must try to discover in individual pictures where it is that a step forward can be traced, whether it be as to composition or as to conception of form. And even then we can only arrive at a relative certainty.

Youthful works, in the strictest sense, by Titian, such as we possess, for instance, by Dürer or Raphael, are not to be found. There is no single picture by him which shows the pupil at work in Bellini's studio, reproducing the composition of his teacher, and yet bearing the stamp of an original conception. If we admit the half-length figure of Christ in the Scuola di San Rocco to be genuine, Christ as the Man of sorrows, with His arms crossed over His breast and His head bowed on one side, one might say that here the young painter had sought inspiration from one of those Pietà groups such as Giovanni Bellini at one time loved to paint. But it is just in this picture, considered to be his earliest, that we miss the characteristics

of Titian's style. And so we must pass on to those in which Giorgione's art had almost entirely obliterated all earlier influences. Once more, perhaps, we may find traces of Bellini's manner in the picture in the Antwerp Gallery representing Jacopo Pesaro doing homage to the Prince of Apostles, to whom he is presented by Pope Alexander VI., Borgia. Here the firm drawing of the Pope's head, standing in bold and yet soft outline against the sky, recalls types to be found in Gentile Bellini's work. It is one of the earliest in the series of Titian's paintings produced in the first decade of the sixteenth century. Jacopo Pesaro, Bishop of Paphos, had been, since the year 1501, apostolic legate in the Armada against the Turks. On the 28th of June 1502, the Doge in San Marco solemnly delivered to him the Banner, when he was about to set forth as commander and papal commissioner to join the fleet. Two months later the victory of Santa Maura was won over the Turks, and in the success of that day Jacopo Pesaro played an important part. He was welcomed with all due honour in his native town on his return to Venice in November. The Bishop must have ordered the picture in memory of these events. It can scarcely have been painted later than 1503, for in that year, on the 18th of August, Pope Alexander VI. died, and the hatred his name had inspired makes it little probable that even a man who was grateful to his memory would have honoured him with a picture after his death.

The early date of this picture is confirmed by its undeniable defects, the extremely stiff attitude of St. Peter, the timidity in the actions, the restless folds in the draperies, points which awaken numerous reminiscences of

From a Carbon-print by Braun, Clément & Co., Dornach, Alsace

MADONNA WITH SAINT BRIDGET AND SAINT ULPHUS

PRADO, MADRID

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the same things in Giorgione's pictures. The landscape background is astonishingly happy and free: a view of a greenish, slightly disturbed sea in which are seen galleys in full sail.

That Titian studied in Giovanni Bellini's workshop is most clearly revealed by the preference he showed in his younger days for treating his pictures of the Madonna with Saints as half-lengths, exactly in the style invented by Bellini and constantly reproduced by his numerous pupils. Giovanni Bellini, following the Church's tradition, had kept his composition severe, merely softening the formal parallel between the two halves by slight divergences; he had given to the Madonna and to the saints a dignified and solemn beauty, and had besides avoided all violence of movement, in order to keep these holy beings apart as far as possible from all earthly things.

The young artist set about his task in a different fashion from that of the veteran teacher or those among his fellow-students, who still adhered closely to the fifteenth-century custom. Only two of his Madonna pictures, the original number of which, judging from old copies and engravings, must have been very great, are Bellini-like in their severity, the wonderfully lovely "Gipsy Madonna" in Vienna and the "Madonna with the Cherries," also there, in which the Virgin Mary is placed exactly in the centre between two saints. But the outward form alone is borrowed from Bellini. There the Madonna has that dreamy self-absorbed look which Giorgione had discovered for Art, and the landscape with a knight lying at the foot of a tree is romantically conceived in the manner of Giorgione. And here an entirely new element is introduced, situations like those to be found in *genre* pictures—lively playful

children, such as no quattrocentist would have dared to present for religious reverence in a sacred picture. So with all the other pictures—the Madonna with St. Bridget and St. Ulphus, in Madrid; again, with three Saints, in Paris; with St. Anthony, in the Uffizi, and the "Santa Conversazione," in Dresden—all have been removed from that sphere remote from the world, where saints hold intercourse with saints, and brought down into human life, we might almost say into homely surroundings, for here the saints play with the Child, take pleasure in His vigorous movements, or offer Him gifts. It is the sublime beauty of the women, the dignity of the men which alone still elevate them far above everyday life.

With regard to the composition, it is of the greatest importance to note that in these four pictures the Madonna no longer retains her place in the centre. She is removed to the side, and the saints approach her to pay homage to the Child; this affords a possibility of constantly varying the composition, forming groups, and isolating a single figure. The same revolution was here effected for the half-length figure picture as was accomplished later for the large altar-piece by the Pesaro Madonna.

These Madonna pictures show us the young artist at work, inspired by a universally accepted scheme of composition, but striving to give to it a new artistic purport. One apparently unimportant feature reveals his aim. In Bellini's pictures, except those produced later than 1505, the Madonna always wears a mantle or white veil, sometimes the two together, over her head; with Titian, the veil is drawn back and the dark hair of the Virgin enhances her beauty. But Titian still retains the traditional colours for the robe of the Madonna—red for the

dress, blue for the mantle. In every picture he endeavours to give to the Virgin a fresh type. The "Gipsy Madonna" is almost a girl; in the pictures in Paris and Madrid Mary is an anxious mother; in the Dresden picture and the "Madonna with the Cherries" she has ripened into full womanly beauty; whilst the Florentine Madonna wears a refined and spiritual expression.

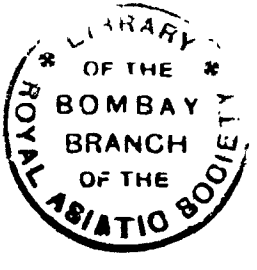
Besides such works of modest dimensions was produced as his first larger altar-piece the (altar) panel destined to do honour to St. Mark, now placed in the Sacristy of Sta. Maria della Salute. It, too, however, seems of small dimensions when we compare it with his later works, the "Assumption," more than three times as large, the altar-piece from San Niccolò, now in the Vatican, quite double the size, besides others. In front of the throne of St. Mark, erected under the open heaven, are grouped to right and left two couples of saints, Cosmo and Damian, Sebastian and Roch. The first two are engaged in conversation, the elder points out St. Roch to the younger, but he unheedingly gazes upward at St. Mark. Sebastian stands a little aloof, and turned facing the spectator—a concession on the part of Titian to the practice of the earlier masters, who liked to represent one or other of the saints looking out of the picture towards the faithful beholder.

The lighting here is so arranged that the head and left side of St. Mark remain in shadow, whereas the sun glows warmly on his red robe which takes dark purple tints in its deeper folds, and on his blue mantle, and glides away over the green carpet at his feet to meet down below by the throne the orange and light red in the garments of the two saints. The form of St. Sebastian is lighted up

by its rays, and the cloth about his loins shines like satin, and is the highest light in the whole picture. Here, for the first time, Titian exhibits to mankind the full charm of that colour of which his hand is capable.

The commission for this picture, destined for the Church of Santo Spirito, was probably given in the course of the year 1504. Ever since the month of April an epidemic of plague had been threatening Venice, but had claimed a relatively small number of victims. We may presume that by the dedication of this altar-picture thanks were to be offered to the saints who had preserved Venice from a threatened disaster. This is shown by the introduction of Roch and Sebastian, Cosmo and Damian, saints who gave protection from the plague; and we now understand the glance which the youth in front casts up at St. Mark—the patron saint had not permitted the plague to do harm to his city.

There was a time when Titian and Giorgione worked together in intimate companionship. They entered so closely into each other's spirit that even their contemporaries could not always distinguish between their pictures. Vasari, in 1566, says of the above-mentioned altar-picture of St. Mark enthroned: "Many have taken this picture for a work of Giorgione." In the Church of San Rocco there is a picture of Christ bearing His Cross, which, from the sixteenth century onwards, has been ascribed now to Giorgione, now to Titian, but which must certainly be regarded as the work of the Master of Castelfranco. Vasari has informed us of a portrait Titian painted when only eighteen years of age. It represented a noble-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PORTRAIT ("ARIOSTO")

COBHAM HALL

man of the house of Barbarigo, and was admired for the wonderful painting of the flesh and of the hair, which was so careful that one fancied it possible to count each hair. "The picture would have passed for a work of Giorgione's if Titian had not written his name in the shadow."

How could Giorgione's profoundly spiritual conception of portraiture fail to make on Titian the strongest impression? So closely did he adhere to his friend in this direction, imitating him exactly even in his technical method, that we can quite understand how Titian's portraits of this period—the so-called "Ariosto" at Cobham Hall, the "Slavonian lady" in the Crespi collection at Milan, and the portrait group in the Palazzo Pitti in Florence, known to the world as "The Concert"—are still in the present day constantly ascribed to Giorgione. We are here almost entirely referred to impressions which cannot be analysed, in which feeling takes the place of critical arguments. But the two single portraits are attributed to Titian by the tradition of many centuries and by the inscriptions on which doubts have been wrongly thrown. It is certain that a careful comparison of the "Ariosto"—the features in the portrait have nothing in common with those of the great poet—with Giorgione's likeness of a youth in Berlin will at last discover differences which can only be explained by a different temperament and a different way of seeing form. It may just b mentioned here that this picture, sketching with the most perfect taste the character of an extraordinary man, deeply interested Rembrandt, and was made use of by him. The "Concert," I must admit, since the middle of the seventeenth century, when it was included in the Medici collection, has borne the name of Giorgione. But here

the technical execution, especially the painting of the famous head in the middle, points to a hand whose practice was different from that of the Master of Castelfranco. It seems, indeed, as if somehow the painter held before himself other aims more bold than we can attribute to Giorgione's quiet, reticent nature.

This picture gives us, perhaps, the highest expression which music and the emotion it causes have called forth in the domain of painting. Two monks, from their habit of the Augustinian order, have just played a duet. The last tones re-echo through the room, which is not even indicated. The elder of the two has laid aside his viola and places his hand gently on the shoulder of the other, who has accompanied him on the spinet, and now lets his wonderfully expressive hands rest on the notes just where they had struck the last chord, as he turns round and gazes at his companion with eyes that betray how far away his thoughts had wandered. The soul shines forth through these thin features, these deep-set eyes, the brilliant white of which is the strongest light in the picture, attracting at once and arresting the attention. The cheek-bones project under the bronzed skin; the mouth is that of a man full of feeling.

With these two figures the artist has created a group which in its sympathy of emotion has no equal. Would our eye be conscious of a void if the left-hand corner had remained empty? This we think probable, and the spectator can easily judge for himself that something must be made to balance the figure on the right. We feel, as regards the inner meaning of the picture, that the half-length figure of a young man with soft feminine features, wearing a cap with white feathers and an orange-coloured jacket, acts as

a disturbing element. He gazes with such indifference out of the picture as if the music did not concern him. But we must reflect that, without the value in colour this figure brings into it, the work might well appear too sombre. The robe of the man sitting at the spinet is indefinite as to colour, and yet it dominates the foreground, and makes the hands and head stand out with double force. The eye would be too much attracted to the lower left-hand corner by the white under-garment worn by the viola-player but that the bright spot on the opposite side leads it back again, and has the effect of distributing the strong lights. How it is possible that, in spite of the light massed on both sides, the head of the man in the centre—and for a long time it alone—concentrates the effect, is one of the wonderful problems set by the highest artistic genius. We may ask the question how far the artist wished to produce a portrait picture. Here the border-line between portraiture and *genre*, in the best sense of the term, is left undefined. All three figures are certainly taken from individual models, as is shown by accidental points, such as the mole on the cheek of the elder monk; but there is no trace in the faces, at least of the two principal persons, of that conscious expression which seems to be unavoidable when any one is sitting for his portrait. It may be an attempt to introduce several likenesses into one work, or it may just as well have been painted with a view to exhibit the effect produced by music. If this last supposition be incorrect, Titian has here created an ideal type of the portrait group such as, sad to say, has never been equalled by his successors.

And now came the time when the two artists, Giorgione and Titian, could dedicate their powers to the same task

and vie with each other in the work. The Fondaco dei Tedeschi, the house of commerce of the Germans, the centre of the Venetian and German trade, situated near the bridge of the Rialto, had been destroyed by fire on a night in January of the year 1505. Its restoration was at once begun, and was for a short time pushed on with great energy, in order that the ceremony of opening the new house might take place on August 1st, 1508. The enormous building was to have for its sole adornment decorative paintings, but neither marble nor sculptural designs. To carry out this important task Giorgione was appointed, public attention having been directed to him, probably in consequence of some decorative work of the same kind which he had executed on private buildings in Venice. We are glad to believe that Giorgione should, of his own accord, have chosen as his assistant Titian, in whom he had recognised gifts akin to his own genius. Giorgione undertook the decoration of the principal façade on the Grand Canal. To Titian was entrusted the side looking into a small street which contains the main entrance to the building. This extensive work must have been finished in a comparatively short space of time. In April 1507 the Fondaco was roofed in; we suppose, therefore, that the paintings were then begun. Anyhow, the work was not yet completed at the date of the dedication of the building, August 1st, 1508. "It is still being painted outside," says Sanuto. At the end of the year 1508, however, the decoration was probably completed; at least Giorgione's paintings were at that time valued by a commission consisting of three artists.

The relentless action of time and weather have gradually ruined these frescoes, once the delight of the

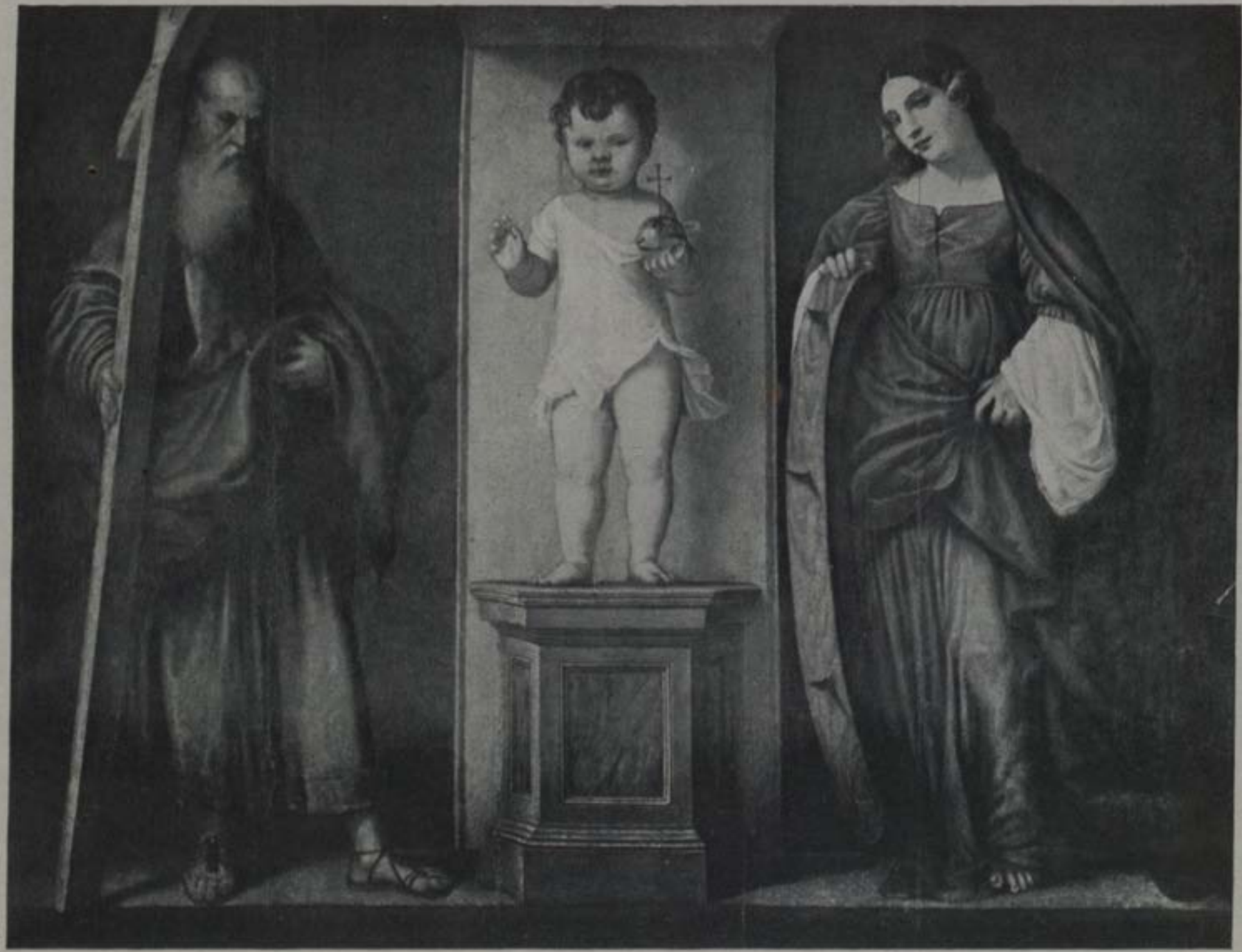
Venetians, and shown to strangers as one of the sights of their town. In the last century whole figures were still visible, the outlines of which have been preserved for us by Zanetti's engravings, but at the present day it is the "loving eye of the seeker," to use Burckhardt's happy expression, which can alone discover traces of isolated figures. From the descriptions of those who saw these wall-paintings in their splendour, we can form some faint idea of them.

No definite general scheme had been designed for the whole fresco decoration. Male and female figures with various attributes, some of them nude, and *putti* in profusion, were to be seen scattered over the walls. Giorgione had let himself be carried away by his enthusiastic feeling for beauty, and had created a piece of decoration the special merit of which was its loveliness. Then came the critics who love to judge art by their intellect, and they found fault, alleging that no one could guess what the whole design meant. Vasari, who, in the depths of his heart, felt a dislike to art of this enchanting and fascinating style, constituted himself the mouthpiece of this opinion, and wrote in his biography of Giorgione that no connected story was to be found in these frescoes, nor did they illustrate the deeds of any persons celebrated in past or present times. "I for one," he adds, "was never able to fathom his meaning, and, question other people as I would, I could never find any one who had fathomed it." Titian had followed the same course of ideas, and from his hand, too, came wonderfully fine but unexplained figures. Here nude females, there a Levantine and a young Venetian nobleman in the costume of the gay fraternity of the Calza, to which belonged the *jeunesse dorée* of the

City of the Lagoons, and which inaugurated splendid festivities. Over the portal a beautiful woman, her youthful form half-revealed by her flowing robe, bending down, a sword in her hand, her foot resting on a lifeless head, in front of her a man in armour. "Like a Judith," says Vasari, "but I was never able to conjecture what she really represents, unless the artist meant her for a Germania." So closely did the styles of Titian and Giorgione resemble one another in character, that Vasari ascribes this figure to the latter. There were not wanting flatterers of Titian to spread the rumour that Giorgione had been congratulated on the execution of this figure, and that he was full of vexation, in fact, of despair, at his pupil having surpassed him.

We regret the loss of these frescoes by Titian, all the more as they were his only decorative works of this kind, and might have revealed to us the ideal of female beauty he set before him in his youth. As we see from Zanetti's engravings, his female forms still adhere closely to the Giorgionesque type. A narrow rather than a full oval for the face, regular strongly-marked eyebrows, a refined straight nose and dark eyes, gave to the whole picture a serious beauty which almost robs it of sensual charms.

A close resemblance to one almost nude woman on the Fondaco appears in the figure of Saint Catherine in a picture in San Marcuola (SS. Ermagora e Fortunato on the Grand Canal), probably an earlier work than the frescoes. In this saint we find, for the first time, just indicated rather than carefully carried out, that type of beauty with shining golden tresses which seems to us to suit a woman of the world better than a saint. There is, besides, in this same picture a charming figure of the Child Christ standing in



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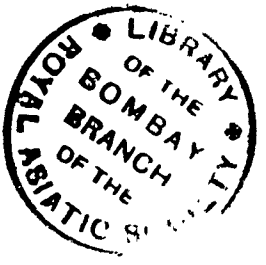
THE CHILD CHRIST, WITH ST. CATHERINE AND ST. ANDREW

SAN MARCUOLA, VENICE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the middle on a pedestal and bestowing His blessing; to the left stands a solemn St. Andrew: all three in their way perfect representatives of their age and sex; but we miss any distinctive expression of character as a connection between the three figures; for this, however, the splendid rich colouring may somewhat compensate.

According to Vasari, to the year 1508, therefore contemporary with the works on the Fondaco de' Tedeschi, is to be assigned the "Triumph of Faith," a series of ten sheets which were cut in wood from Titian's drawings by an unknown artist, supposed to be the Master Jacob of Strasburg. This work is the more important in the history of Italian woodcut that here for the first time one of the great well-known Masters worked with a view to reproduction, and contributed to the success of a branch of technical execution already beginning to make its way. In place of the simple woodcutting in outline, now was introduced that rich treatment by cross-hatching in the shadows, which alone was capable of rendering the characteristics of the original work of an artist who, like Titian, strove after pictorial effect.

Titian grouped the saints of the old and new Covenants round the person of Christ in a form of which Italian art offers numerous examples. Triumphal, or rather solemn, processions played an important part in the Renaissance period, so that their effect could not fail to be great on art. In Mantua, the sublime creations of Mantegna, representing the Triumph of Cæsar, claimed general admiration. Titian has treated his Triumph of Faith in similar fashion, as the solemn entry of a victorious general. The long procession is opened by Adam and Eve, who march onward with clasped hands; an angel hovering over them points the

way. Next come the chief representatives of the Old Testament, figures full of energetic movement, among whom are specially noticeable, from their impassioned gestures, Moses, Noah, and Abraham. The Sibyls follow, walking in a variety of beautiful attitudes, bearing aloft floating banners; and then the Prophets, with whom are associated innocent little children and angels blowing trumpets, and in their midst a strong-limbed youth bearing a colossal cross. Towering above all, in a chariot drawn by the Symbols of the Evangelists, the wheels of which are pushed painfully forward by the Fathers of the Church (is this piece of bad taste the fault of Titian or his patron?), Christ is enthroned, holding aloft His sceptre, and seen entirely in profile. The Apostles now follow, grand manly figures; then a richly varied troop of martyrs, ecclesiastics, hermits, knights, mingled together in a brilliant throng, among whom we especially note a handsome youth striding eagerly forward; behind the powerful form of St. Christopher come the faithful, among them monks and holy women with palm branches, and complete the Triumph.

It is a procession rich in lifelike, noble and beautiful forms, whose festal garments befit them, splendid men with flowing beards, of the type we know from Tintoretto's Procuratori portraits, and female figures; powerful and well-developed vigorous movement gives life to them all, and arouses our astonishment when we reflect that up to this time quiet attitudes had predominated in those of Titian's early works still preserved to us. Was it his labours at the Fondaco de' Tedeschi that led his art into new paths?

The work which Titian executed in Padua appears to be

closely allied in style to his "Triumph of Christ." The figures in both are so alike, the resemblance in detail being sometimes quite remarkable, that we feel inclined, in spite of Vasari's assertion, to put the date of the woodcuts several years forward, and bring them nearer to the time of the works in Padua.

The immediate cause of Titian's departure from Venice and of his visit to Padua is not known. It is possible that he was driven away by the serious crisis through which the Republic of Venice was passing as a result of the war of the League of Cambrai; for there was in those days neither patronage nor money to spare for the labours of artists. In those sad times there were but few marriages among the members of the patrician families, and the weddings that did take place were—an unusual circumstance in Venice—unaccompanied by music and gay costumes. How Titian passed through these hard times, which weighed still more heavily on the bright City of the Lagoons because of a frightful outbreak of plague, we do not know. The year 1511 found him at Padua, where, in company with Domenico Campagnola, he was at work in various places; in the Scuola del Carmine, where is a fresco ascribed to him, the meeting of Joachim and Anna, in which his hand can only be recognised in the broad treatment of the surrounding landscape; in the Palazzo Corner, whose façade adornment is no longer preserved; and finally in the Scuola del Santo. Here, in the hall, where are a great number of frescoes with scenes from the life of St. Anthony, some of them still in the style of quattrocento art, Titian executed three: "St. Anthony grants speech to an infant that it may testify to the innocence of its mother," "St. Anthony heals the boy who had cut off his leg because he had kicked

his mother," and "St. Anthony recalls to life a woman whose husband has murdered her through jealousy."

There is no doubt that these works betoken a step forward in the direction of dramatic action, and the reason may be found in the theme prescribed for him. In the last-named picture Titian goes farthest and even borders on ugliness. Here he does not actually present the miracle but the act that preceded it; it is only far away in the landscape that we see the murderer casting himself at the feet of Saint Anthony. The wife lies on the ground in a lonely rocky spot, her husband bends over her and strikes at her with his dagger for the second time, for the white garment over her breast is already stained with blood. The distorted face of the man and the sad condition of the woman reveal the dramatic situation. The two other frescoes, as suits their subject, are calmer in action, but tell their story admirably, and the figures are natural in their movements. A large concourse of spectators is here in great variety of age and rank to express their sympathy and their astonishment at the miracle and thereby make the beholder realise the marvel of the event. "There is wonderful truth in it, promising great things," such was Goethe's opinion. We see by the individuality in the figures, delightful also as a piece of colour, how the artist endeavoured to make each of them faithful to life. In the first of these scenes a beautiful group of graceful women forms an effective contrast with the group of youths on the other side, one of whom quite in the foreground attracts the eye; he is turning to speak to his companion and catches hold with both hands of the mantle hanging over his shoulder, while he steps eagerly forward, a figure which, in a quiet composition like this, without any action to

Alinari

A MIRACLE OF ST. ANTHONY

SCUOLA DEL SANTO, PADUA

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speak of, is an indispensable and enlivening incident. This figure bears the same close analogy to the beautiful martyr youth in the Triumph of Faith as the women do to the Sibyls.

With respect to the surroundings on which Titian places his figures, these works show an advance on the earlier ones in Venice. In representing the scene where his action is placed he allowed himself no more space than was absolutely necessary, and at the same time was careful to make it possible in real life. All three of these incidents take place in the open air, the first before the entrance to a palace, the second in a pleasant landscape, the third in a barren mountain region. In each the sense of broad distance is awakened, of fresh air and sunny open space. This, too, by simple means; in the last picture, for example, we see a cliff rising up almost to the top with leafless tree-trunks standing out against the sky, while to the right there is a view into the country, where the murderer is offering his prayer to St. Anthony. It is in this way that Titian gives to his wall-paintings what should be their ultimate purpose—the increased idea of space.

On December 4, 1511, Titian signed a receipt for four gold ducats, to the brotherhood who had commissioned him to paint these frescoes, being the remainder of payment due to him. A sojourn in Vicenza, where he painted a "Judgment of Solomon" in the loggia of the Town Hall, did not immediately follow his work at Padua, as formerly supposed, but took place ten years later (1521). This fresco painting was destroyed when Palladio carried out his celebrated restoration. After his stay at Padua Titian returned to Venice, probably at the beginning or during the course of the year 1512.

On his return home Titian found many and various changes in artistic circles. Giorgione, with whom he had been most closely associated, had died in September 1510, a victim in a dreadful epidemic of plague. Another, the young and ambitious Sebastiano Luciani, who had been his fellow-worker in Bellini's studio, had followed Agostino Chigi's invitation and migrated to Rome. He was expected to do great things, having produced in the picture "The Glory of San Giovanni Crisostomo" over the high altar in the church dedicated to that saint, one of the finest altar-pieces Venice till then possessed.

Of Titian's fellow students, only one of importance remained in Venice, Jacopo Palma, generally known as Palma Vecchio, who seems to have adopted in early life an original style and never swerved from it. He was a native of the mountain country of Bergamo, and though in Venice he learnt how to give beauty and gracefulness to his figures, he always retained a certain massive sturdiness which seemed to belong to his nature. He did not aim at dramatic animation nor at any deeper inward connection between his personages, but simply at the grouping of beautiful beings in a quiet composition. The physical perfection of his figures harmonises wonderfully with his splendid landscape backgrounds, a stretch of sunny, fruitful country with fine trees, vanishing away in graceful undulating mountain outlines into the distance.

In spite of the fact that Titian was probably his elder by a few years—the date of Palma's birth is uncertain—and also far excelled him in artistic endowment, there is no doubt that, at a time when Titian's powers still lay dormant, the quiet, often fascinating beauty of Palma's works and their healthy contact with real nature, made a deep impression

upon him. After the manner of true genius he did not hesitate to take from others what was wanting in himself, to refashion it and give it the impress of his own individuality. In some pictures belonging to this time we find, as it were, a faint echo of Palma's work, but it is no more than a vague reminiscence. This new impression mingles with the long-felt, deep-seated influence of Giorgione, which comes out strongly again while Titian was finishing some pictures to which his comrade had been prevented by death from putting the final touches. One of these, a Pietà, was perhaps merely repaired by him; to the Sleeping Venus, however, now in the Dresden Gallery, he added a Cupid seated at her feet and the landscape background.

It is when looking at the "Adoration of the Shepherds" (National Gallery, London), that we are most strongly reminded of Palma Vecchio. Not only here is the full rounded form of the Madonna Palmesque—essentially different from the type of woman in the pictures already spoken of—but the relation of the figures to the landscape and also the composition and the realism which is specially noticeable in the character and action of the shepherd. He is like the figure of John in the "Baptism of Christ" (Gallery of the Capitol, Rome), who kneels, supporting himself by his hand, and in this attitude, the upper part of his body bending forwards, completes the act of baptism; a more noble figure than the shepherd, but bearing to him, we might say, the strongest family likeness. The same figure recurs in the "Three Ages" (Lord Ellesmere, London), here also in momentary action while lying on the ground; but the maiden who reclines half supported on his knees, the light-haired beauty with soft limbs, is one of Palma's type of women transformed into that of Titian.

We meet with her again as the Magdalen stretched at Christ's feet in the "Noli me tangere" (National Gallery, London), to find her reappear, her beauty enhanced by the richest dress, in the "Sacred and Profane Love," as the supposed embodiment of the latter.

We have now mentioned the five pictures which should be studied for this transitional phase of Titian's art, his Palmesque period. Landscape and figure subjects are here intimately and admirably associated. The first serves with its darker, fuller tones as the right background for these figures in light but warm colour. Titian seems almost always to choose that time of day when the setting sun lends to all objects a deeper tint. In all these pictures the landscape has its origin in that region which Titian created for Giorgione's Venus. Here a dark cliff uprising, from which spring a couple of saplings in clear outline against the sky, serves as a background for the upper part of the goddess' body; it stands in the same way behind the Virgin in the "Adoration of the Shepherds," and also, as we have already noticed, in the third fresco at Padua. The centre of the picture is spread out and leads the eye to a blue distance (see the "Venus," the "Adoration," and the "Noli me tangere"), or a clump of bushes rises up to form a strong effective set-off to a figure in the foreground (see the "Baptism of Christ," "Sacred and Profane Love"). On a hill near the edge of the picture, over whose verdant slopes a road is winding, are perched ruins with thatched cottages nestling round them. A gateway, the entrance to the castle, stands on the edge of the hill; its façade to the west is tinged by the rays of the setting sun (almost identical in "Venus," "Noli me tangere," the "Ages," and "Sacred and Profane Love"). Quiet, white clouds pass

R. Anderson

BAPTISM OF CHRIST

CAPITOL GALLERY, ROME

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slowly over the sky, which assumes a yellowish tint towards the horizon, and the same light is spread over a distance, enlivened here and there by figures—a shepherd with his flock, a chase with huntsmen and dogs, a wayfarer climbing up the hill, and other incidents of the kind. If there were nothing further, these elements in the landscape would betoken close connection between these compositions.

Still more nearly are they united by the lyrical feeling which breathes from them all, and which comes not only from the subjects, nor yet only from the combination of figures with landscape. The lyrical element is found specially in the conception of the artist, who aims at setting the whole action in one key. We can observe how the expression in the eyes gives to the figures their mental connection. In the "Adoration" the eyes of the shepherd turn inquiringly towards the Child Christ, making Him more evidently the central point in the picture than does His position between His parents or the gesture of Joseph; and Joseph's gentle glance rests on the shepherd who is offering his homage to the Saviour. So in the "Baptism of Christ," the Baptist's eye rests on the Saviour, and the donor, the Venetian Giovanni Ram, whom the artist was obliged to introduce into the picture, is connected by a glance with the patron Saint. And note how the Magdalen seeks the Saviour with her eyes, though she hardly dares to raise them to His countenance. How full of kindness, in spite of a slight gesture of repulsion, is the look Christ bends on the woman "who was a sinner"!

In the "Three Ages" the couple who represent man's life in its prime lie with their eyes fixed on one another. In "Sacred and Profane Love" the earnest look of the nude woman crosses the space that divides these two, and pene-

trates to the worldly beauty, who half turns aside, but yet is intensely conscious of the eye fastened upon her.

In these pictures Titian gave expression in his art to that which most "earnestly and tenderly" moved his soul in those days. Such a close connection between pictures of sacred and profane subjects as we here find is probably unprecedented in the history of Art. How deeply this lyrical element pervaded his whole being at this time can be measured by the way in which he handled sacred subjects, advancing to the extreme limits of what is permissible, as in the figure of the Baptist. And we should therefore look for the strongest expression of Titian's art in those pictures where his genius was not fettered by tradition or pious custom, or other considerations of various kinds. We seek for and find it in those two works where he was free to realise his ideal of Beauty, as for a short period of perfect happiness Renaissance Art was permitted to do. He lavished beauty with unstinting hand in the "Three Ages" and in "Sacred and Profane Love."

His meaning in the "Three Ages" is easy to discover. The Childhood of Man: little boys slumbering in a meadow, all unconscious of the lot of man. The Prime of Life: a naked youth, at his side a fair and blooming maiden with a wreath of flowers in her hair, whom he gently draws towards him. And the Evening of Life: an old man sitting in the middle distance surrounded by bones and skulls, at one of which he gazes in meditation. The mood of the Master himself at this period corresponds with the feeling of cheerful vigour and of full enjoyment of life, and so he makes the beautiful young couple the central subject of his picture, and for them nature seems to have adorned

Photograph by Walter Bourke

THE THREE AGES

BRIDGEWATER HOUSE

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herself with all her charms; the two forms are radiant in relief against a dark group of trees, and over the children a little Amorino is climbing. The thought of the transitoriness of all earthly things is kept in the background.

In sentiment it approaches very nearly that incomparable picture by Giorgione, full of dreamy beauty, at once the model for this style and its most perfect expression—the "Concert" in the Louvre. Here, too, we have a wonderful group of splendid human beings, met together for the joys of life and to do homage to beauty, for the worship of which this picture serves in a way that the world had never seen since the days of the grandest development of the power of Greek genius. Men in rich attire, radiantly lovely female forms, dying strains of music and the life of the broad open country—that is the theme which is here presented, is adopted by Titian in the "Three Ages," and finally finds in "Sacred and Profane Love" that expression which makes it the common property of all men.

It cannot well be denied that the name by which this picture is known has contributed not a little to procure for it its world-wide reputation. In former days, when its title was more unassuming, it was less known than many of Titian's other works. When first mentioned in 1613 it is simply called "Beauty unadorned and adorned" ("Beltà disornata e Beltà ornata"). Ridolfi, in 1648, describes it rather than names it when he says: "Two women near a fountain in which a child is looking at his reflection." The name it now bears does not occur till late, it cannot be found before the end of the eighteenth century, and even at that period probably originated with the Germans. Finally, modern writers consider it either an illustration of Valerius Flaccus—Medea tempted to love by Venus—

or a literary reminiscence from Ariosto's heroic poem, the fountain in the forest of Ardennes, which can remove the love-charm.

It may be that the purchaser, Niccolò Aurelio, in the course of his strange career High Chancellor of Venice, whose arms are introduced on the rim of the trough, had suggested to Titian a passage from some ancient or modern poet. How far this, how far Titian's genius contributed to the conception of this work each beholder may determine for himself. To those who love to find an interpretation for a picture whose charm without commentary delights the eye, we will not grudge their pleasure. Others, however, may gaze at the picture and drink in beauty from this inexhaustible magic fountain.

All here depends on the contrast between the two women. The one, though richly adorned in shimmering silken stuff, with a jewelled girdle and flowers in her hair, yet pales before the other, who is without adornment except for the splendour of her limbs, which glow still more golden beside the warm red of the garment hanging lightly over her arm and resting against her rounded form. Both women sit on the ledge of a fountain, which, after the fashion of an antique trough, is decorated with reliefs. One sits upright, almost filling the whole height of the picture, holding in her hand a cup, from which rises, as it were, smoke; she is turning round to the other, and supports herself meanwhile firmly on the ledge of the trough. This figure should be compared with that at the fountain in Giorgione's "Concert of Music," which is its immediate prototype. The other woman avoids her gaze, turns away, and even seems half to slip down from her seat. Meanwhile, at the back of the fountain a winged

boy is amusing himself stirring the water about with his chubby hand, making it bubble and sparkle.

And round these figures imagine a wonderfully lovely country. The ground is carpeted with plants and flowers, growing in profusion round the old stone fountain, which with soft murmur pours forth untiringly its stream and waters the soil. A thick clump of trees rises up behind the boy, gives shade and prevents the eye from penetrating into the background, and leads it to right and left of the middle group into a rich and charming landscape; meadows where a couple of ducks are nibbling grass, the hill with its village and castle, where the inhabitants, assembled before the gate in idle converse, gaze at a rider who dashes up the road; a lively chase with huntsmen, dogs and hare, tranquil groups of lovers and a shepherd with his flock, and across the lake a glimpse of the village, and in its midst a little church. May we not fancy the tones of the Ave Maria are mingling with the ceaseless murmur of the fountain—the only sound from the outer world that can penetrate to these two women here so far remote? Nowhere has the sentiment of evening with its peculiar charm been depicted with such truth and tenderness.

This picture is the most perfect creation of Titian's earlier years, on which it sheds an illuminating light. It gathers together once more all those artistic reminiscences that fill his mind, and closes with a bright and pleasing echo a period of activity in art which, though far surpassed in strength and grandeur and in vigour of thought by the following periods, for magic grace and purity of feeling has never been equalled.

CHAPTER III

IN THE SERVICE OF THE STATE. PORTRAITS AND FANCY PORTRAITS. TITIAN AND ALFONSO D'ESTE

On May 31 of the year 1513 the following petition was sent in to be laid before the Council of Ten:

"Illustrious Prince! High and mighty Lords! I, Titian, of Cadore, have from childhood upwards studied the art of painting, desirous of a little fame rather than of profit . . . And although in the past and also in the present I have been urgently invited by his Holiness the Pope and other Lords to enter their service, I, as the faithful subject of your Excellencies, have the rather cherished the wish to leave behind me in this famous town a memorial; and therefore, if it seem good to your Excellencies, I am anxious to paint in the Hall of Great Council, employing thereto all my powers, and to begin with the canvas of the battle on the side towards the Piazza, which is so difficult that no one has yet had courage to attempt it. I should be willing to accept for my labour any reward that may be thought proper, or even less. Therefore being as aforesaid studious only of honour and to please your Excellencies, I beg to ask for the first broker's patent for life that shall be vacant in the Fondaco de' Tedeschi, irrespective of all promised reversions of such patent, and on the same conditions and with

the same charges and exemptions as Messer Giovanni Bellini (Zuan Belin), besides two assistants, to be paid by the Salt Office, as well as all colours and necessaries; such as a few months ago were conceded by the sublime Council to the aforesaid Messer Giovanni. In return for which I promise to do the work above-named with such speed and excellence as will satisfy the Signori."

The Council resolved to accept the offer.

The invitation to Rome which Titian here pointedly refers to had, as a matter of fact, been given. Vasari also speaks of it, naming the intermediary who had attracted Pope Leo X.'s attention towards him, Pietro Bembo, the historian, afterwards Cardinal, celebrated as the friend of Raphael, and later intimate with Titian. But Titian preferred to remain at home, and was now soliciting a share in the most important work that the Republic had to entrust to an artist—the renewal of the pictorial decoration of the Hall of Great Council, which had been going on for nearly forty years and was not yet completed. The first five wall-pictures on the side to the Piazza were wanting, while on the opposite wall one or two had still to be finished, on which it is probable the aged Giovanni Bellini himself and his pupils were then employed.

Titian with two assistants at once set to work, and would, no doubt, have made rapid progress, as he says himself in a later petition, "but for the cunning craftiness of some who would not have me as their competitor." In fact, a year later, after his first petition had been accepted, it was resolved in this same Council of Ten that Titian would have to wait with his claims on the broker's patent till more ancient claims had been satisfied (March 20, 1514); the pay of his assistants was struck off the list "to

relieve our State at this juncture from expenses of the kind." So naturally his labours were interrupted. To understand this second resolution annulling the former, we must suppose that those who saw their earlier rights threatened by the concessions made to Titian were doing their utmost with influential magistrates to have these concessions withdrawn. The rivals of Titian in the Hall of Great Council were to be found among Bellini's older pupils and assistants, as, for instance, Carpaccio.

However, Titian did not give up the struggle. On November 28, 1514, comes a fresh petition, to beg that, as he could not obtain the first vacant broker's patent, he might be granted that which must needs be free on the death of Giovanni Bellini, and on the same conditions, and further that his two assistants might be paid. Again the petition was granted and instructions accordingly were issued to the Provisor of the Salt Office.

Still the works did not proceed, for what reason we do not know. In the last days of the following year (December 29 and 30, 1515), after a report from Francesco Valier, the Provisor of the Salt Office, who went so far as to assert that as much money had been expended on the paintings in the Hall of Great Council as would have served to finish the whole palace and complete a work three times as great, a resolution was passed to have the expense examined into, and it then appeared that two pictures which were scarcely begun had already swallowed up the sum of 400 ducats. Accordingly all the painters were dismissed and the Provisor of the Salt Office was authorised to make arrangements with capable artists, who, after the completion of the picture entrusted to them, should receive an adequate sum.

Clearly Titian had a hand in this. He sent up a fresh petition, this time to the Doge himself (January 18, 1516), saying he desired to finish at his own expense the picture he had begun two years before, if he might be supplied with a part of his colours; and that, if one of his assistants were paid, he would provide the other. In return he asked for 400 ducats and the reversion of the broker's patent. His conditions were accepted, but his demand reduced to 300 ducats.

On November 29 of the same year took place the event foreseen by Titian—a broker's patent became vacant by the death of Giovanni Bellini. Apparently Titian at once put in his claim, but on December 5 a decree of the Council of Ten was issued that Titian should not have it till there was a vacancy among the earlier reversions. Nevertheless, as we learn from a later resolution (June 24, 1537), he entered at once on the enjoyment of the post vacant by Giovanni Bellini's death on condition that he should be bound to paint the picture of the battle in the Hall of Great Council. Titian had at last won the victory over his opponents.

An artist who was granted a broker's patent became the official painter to the State. The duty devolved on him of painting for the palace a portrait of each succeeding Doge, also any votive pictures in which the person of the Doge had to be introduced were generally entrusted to him. Besides, a broker's patent ("senseria," from which comes the word "sensale") secured for its possessor a good income without any professional duties, for naturally the artists who held it never exercised the practical functions of a "sensale," who had to act as intermediary in the commercial business of foreign with Venetian merchants.

Once in possession of the post, Titian troubled himself little about the work he had undertaken. Only a very express remonstrance (on August 11, 1522), accompanied by the threat that reimbursement of the money already received by him would be required, made him set to at it again. Then he probably worked for a time in earnest, as we find he received payment for a picture a year later (July 30, 1523). Unfortunately, the documents do not enable us to determine which work was then finished. Besides the "Battle of Cadore," another picture in the Hall of Great Council, representing Frederic Barbarossa kissing the Pope's toe in St. Mark's Church, is mentioned as a work of Titian's. Vasari asserts it was begun by Giovanni Bellini; Sansovino, whom we have to thank for the only detailed description of the wall-pictures destroyed by the fire of 1577, says expressly: "It was the first picture he executed in the Hall." According to an old tradition, Salviati, in his frescoes in the Sala Regia of the Vatican, representing the same scene, repeats Titian's composition pretty closely.

But the picture of the battle which Titian had offered to paint as early as 1513 was not finished till the years 1537 and 1538. We shall speak of it presently in another connection.

All the time these intrigues were going on Titian had been showing wonderful activity. First, there are some of his male portraits to which, for certain qualities of style common to them all, we may give a place here.

A comparison of these with the few single portraits belonging to the Master's earlier years leads us to observe

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Spooner

PORTRAIT OF A MAN

HAMPTON COURT

that in them the hands are made use of as an essential characteristic of the personality. One arm is resting on the hip, one hand (the left) is moved to the lower edge of the picture in front; it grasps the hilt of the sword (Munich), or holds the belt lightly with one finger (Paris). There is the portrait at Hampton Court, well known from Van Dalen's beautiful engraving. Both the names given it, "Boccaccio" and "Alessandro de' Medici," are incorrect. Here the sitter lets his only hand visible rest on a book lying on the parapet in front, while his eyes wander away into space. This makes us suppose him a literary man. In this connection we must also remember the splendid portrait in the Vienna Gallery which, on Ridolfi's authority, bears the name of Titian's physician, Parma. Here the powerful left hand clasps a strip of black cloth hanging from his shoulder, "a habitual gesture, by which the great doctor could be recognised from afar" (Burckhardt), and the eyes are fixed on some distant point with a concentrated look, no doubt a scarcely less important characteristic of the man. Very forcibly, in fact almost in too marked a way, is expression put into the hands in the most famous of these portraits, the handsome young "Homme au gant" in the Louvre. The right hand, very effective as a mass of light, makes a significant gesture in the same direction whither the young man's inquiring eyes are turned; his gloved left hand is holding the leather glove he has taken off, and hangs in a delightfully easy attitude over the parapet on which his arm is resting.

It is the finest pose possible—if one may talk of pose when contemplating such pictures as these. "L'homme au gant" stands as if he had fallen into this easy posture at the moment and quite accidentally, it may be in conversa-

tion, and in the same way with the others the action has a spontaneous charm, in striking contrast to the State portrait with its pose chosen for strong effect. When looking at these pictures we may ask ourselves the question, how much an artist like Van Dyck, in his very best works, owes to these and similar portraits by Titian.

In all these portraits we may observe the greatest simplicity in costume, arrangement and method. A black robe occasionally modulating into grey or brownish-grey is laid in thick folds round the shoulders and acts only as a mass of colour, on the breast it is unfastened near the throat and shows a piece of white shirt, which serves to carry the eye from the warm colouring of the head to the dark tones of the dress. The contour of the figure is relieved against a background of a neutral tint, something between grey, brown, and indefinite green. The light comes down from the left. Sunlight illumines the sitter's countenance, gives it warmth, and places into shadow with soft reflected light those parts of the face that are turned away.

Female portraits of Titian's early period, with the exception of the "Slavonian lady," are unknown. It was not till later, when his fame had increased, that princesses pressed eagerly to be painted by him. Here, in place of the portrait, we have the fancy portrait, and many of these creations, closely related to each other, show how Titian cultivated a particular type of female beauty: the "Daughter of Herodias" in the Doria Gallery in Rome, the "Vanitas" at Munich, the "Woman at her Toilet" in Paris (erroneously entitled "Titien et sa Maîtresse," and later "Alfonso d'Este and Laura Dianti"), and the "Flora" in the Uffizi. We may here trace a regular

D. Anderson

THE DAUGHTER OF HERODIAS

DORIA GALLERY, ROME

evolution which begins in the manner of Giorgione and ends in the completely ripened art of Titian. The fundamental elements are almost always the same; the position of the head, the outline of the cheek, the hair loosened and gliding on to the shoulder, only that the form gradually develops into a fuller beauty and the colour problems are presented differently. In this the "Daughter of Herodias" perhaps excels all others, its radiant colour recalls at once the harmonious treatment of the "Sacred and Profane Love"; a tender violet-grey leads from the carmine-red of the robe to the deep blue of the bit of sky seen through the archway. In the Munich picture the prevailing note is gravity, the "Toilet" picture charms us by its changeful play of light, whilst the "Flora" is attuned to a scale of golden and light violet tones.

Titian puts forth the highest art of his palette to present in all her splendour this magnificent model, who had fascinated his artistic nature. No one before him, and few after him, have succeeded in rendering with such an impression of softness the full form coming out of the white, gold-bordered chemisette; and probably Titian alone, in later life, more freed from everything material, was able to reproduce the subtle play of light on fair hair. This magic charm of artistic power, which rises far above mere technical skill, has to compensate us for the absence of any indication of individual character in the features, which, as, for instance, notably in the "Flora," are curiously devoid of expression. Who could blame Titian that his painter's eye was attracted and that he caught his inspiration from the perfection of mere physical beauty?

Probably he was thinking of this and of other creations

of the kind, also belonging to his later years, when he once remarked, as Pietro Aretino reported to Vasari, "that he never saw a maiden without discovering in her features a touch of sensuality ("lascivia"). He has neither veiled nor toned down this "touch" in his pictures—he set himself each time a colour problem and solved it, without reflecting upon problems of morality.

Attention has already been drawn to the points of contact between these pictures. One apparently secondary detail should not pass unnoticed; it is common to all of them, and occurs in others as well. Almost everywhere the hand with its thick palm and slender fingers is drawn so that the second and third fingers are extended. This is accounted for partly, as in the Louvre picture, by the incident depicted, partly because it apparently was a favourite position for the hand with the artist ("Vanitas" and "Flora.")

It is the more necessary to notice this as the same motive is turned to account in the same or a like manner elsewhere: in the "Annunciation" in the Cathedral of Treviso, and the "Tribute Money" in the Dresden Gallery.

Once our attention is drawn to them the points of resemblance multiply. We note especially how a similarity of type unites the Madonna of the "Annunciation" with these half-length fancy pictures. Mary sinks down on to the marble floor, a book has slipped from her hand, which she now lays as if in protest on her breast, grasping with the other the ample folds of her mantle, confused by the vision suddenly presented to her. The Angel comes in with a rush, his rapid forward movement makes his garment flutter behind him and shows his right leg uncovered. Heavy clouds roll away from the sky, bright rays shoot down

and reveal that the messenger is sent from Heaven. The mental and physical agitation of the two figures is counterbalanced by the delicious calm of the distant landscape.

Those who retain that impression of tranquil loveliness with which Fra Angelico and Fra Filippo Lippi have invested this scene will be inclined to take objection to the hurry of the Angel. But still it is quite possible to enter into the Titianesque idea. The third figure, however, we feel is a disturbing element. Half hidden by the pillar at the end of the great hall indicated on the left, a priest is watching the incident. We must not be too hard on Titian for this incongruity, for in the scene of the Annunciation it is difficult to include a donor. The artist may have been driven by the will of another thus to sacrifice his composition. The donor, one Canon Broccardo Malchiostro, had ordered this picture for the altar of a chapel in the Cathedral of Treviso, which he got Pordenone to adorn with frescoes in 1519–20. We may conjecture from points of style that Titian's picture had been produced some years before the completion of the chapel. Possibly it was when he came to Treviso to deliver the picture that the commission was given him to repaint on the façade of the Scuola del Santissimo adjoining the Cathedral the figure of the risen Christ which Master Andrea from Venice had painted, not to the brotherhood's taste, in 1517. Malchiostro was a member of this Scuola. Unfortunately there remains only a shadow of the original beauty of Titian's figure of Christ, Who was represented rising triumphantly to Heaven, with a banner of victory in His hand.

The striking effect of the "Tribute Money" depends on

a perfectly carried out contrast between two characters. In the half-length figures of the Redeemer and of the Pharisee, who is trying to tempt Him, Titian gives us the embodiment of the perfectly noble, and of the mean, malignant man. The figure of Christ nearly fills the entire canvas. The Pharisee approaches, presses up quite close, almost touching Him, and tries to surprise Him with his question. The Redeemer, turned to the left, looks back towards the questioning Pharisee. How cunningly the latter observes Him with his narrow, crafty eyes! Christ sees through his design, but yet casts on him a glance full of majesty and gentleness. His wonderful hand appears from under the folds of His mantle and points to the head of Cæsar on the coin the Pharisee is holding out to Him.

Titian carries the antithesis still further. The tanned skin of the Pharisee forms a strong contrast to the fair complexion of the Redeemer, whose gentle countenance shines out from beneath His wealth of dark hair. Most striking of all are the two hands, seeming almost to touch each other, in their form exactly typical of a refined and an ordinary being. Were there no part of the "Tribute Money" preserved but this, it would suffice to enable us to reconstruct the sense of the picture. The wonderfully careful way in which every detail is carried out has given rise to the story that Titian painted this picture in order to show himself equal as an artist to Albert Dürer. And yet we only cited this remarkable example to note what is a quality common to all Titian's early works. It is just this extreme care that suggests the thought whether the "Tribute Money" should not be reckoned among the earlier works of Titian. Its affinity of style to pictures

like the "Madonna with the Cherries," or the "Santa Conversazione" in Dresden, should also be taken into consideration; while the effort after idealisation of individual features, as in the Christ, and the form of Christ's hand point to the later time, the second decade.

In the Virgin of the "Annunciation" Titian had found his type of the Madonna; here we have his ideal of the Christ which he developed later in the noble half-length figure in the Palazzo Pitti. We may just mention that this type of the Christ, represented most perfectly by the Redeemer in the "Tribute Money," has been accepted by Van Dyck, is in favour down to the present day, and still finds imitators.

In the sixteenth century the "Tribute Money" belonged to the Dukes of Ferrara. The picture hung in a room of the castle, and had been painted on the door of a wardrobe, if Vasari speaks truly, but it hardly seems credible. Duke Alfonso I. had acquired the work, and as this Prince had for a device on his gold coins the words from the Bible, "Render unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's," we may infer, without too much stretching a point, that Titian painted the picture for him. Herewith relations were established which connected the Master for twenty years with the Court of Ferrara.

Alfonso I. belonged to a princely house to whom the love and advancement of art were as much a matter of course as carrying on war or indulging in the chase. He was most zealous in his efforts to obtain works from the Great Masters of that prolific period, but had had little success with Raphael and Michelangelo. So much the more anxious was he to employ the art of Titian.

Hence arose a somewhat brisk correspondence. We learn most from the letters that passed between the Duke and Jacopo Tebaldi, his agent in Venice. The Duke was evidently pleased at having discovered in Titian a man to whom he could entrust all kinds of commissions. At one time the painter has to go to Murano to order for him some glass vessels at the celebrated workshops on the island. At another, the Duke wants a competent man to gild the frame of a picture Titian had painted for him ; or, again, asks for some one experienced in the art of painting Majolica ware, who would make him vessels to be used by his apothecary (1520). Then a letter arrives requiring Titian to paint faithfully from nature, "life-size on canvas, with all the care possible," an "animal called a gazelle," kept in the house of Giovanni Cornaro. However, when Tebaldi and Titian went there, as the former relates, they found that the gazelle was dead. They asked for the animal's skin—but they were in Venice, and so the carcase had found its way into the canal. Signor Cornaro offered to show them the likeness of a gazelle on a small scale in a picture by Giovanni Bellini, which he had in his possession, and from this Titian promised to paint the animal life-size for the Duke.

During these years Titian repeatedly travelled to Ferrara. He stayed for the first time from February 13 to March 22, 1516, and was quartered in the castle with his two assistants, receiving food and wine at the Duke's expense. Then he appeared again in October 1519, and several times afterwards. The journey from Venice to Ferrara was not attended with difficulty ; it was by boat to Francolino and then by carriage to Ferrara. But Titian was not always willing to leave the work he had on hand at home, and at

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Alinari

ALPHONSO D'ESTE, DUKE OF FERRARA (Copy)

PALAZZO PITTI, FLORENCE

every sign from the Duke to hasten to him, though it often happened that the agent Tebaldi had sent a boat to his house on a given day to transport him to the port of Ferrara. Occasionally Alfonso tried special inducements. Thus, at the end of 1521, he sent word to Titian immediately after Leo X.'s death that he meant to travel to Rome as soon as a new Pope was chosen, to offer his homage, and that if Titian were present at Ferrara at the moment of his departure he would take him with him. "Indeed," he adds, "we should be very glad if he would come with us."

The works for Ferrara dragged slowly on, in spite of all the efforts of the Duke and the protests which Tebaldi did not spare. Fresh remonstrances were followed by fresh excuses. More than once the Duke lost patience and wrote sharply to Tebaldi and threatened Titian he would make him answer for it, and so on. But threats availed as little as promises, and Tebaldi was merely holding out vain hopes to his master when he said Titian had repeated three or four times he would take no commissions from any one, not even from the Almighty Himself, until he had finished the picture for Alfonso. Other works were no less pressing and demanded the exercise of all his powers.

Only a few of the paintings Titian executed for Alfonso have been preserved, the rest we hear of from letters. The much-admired picture in which Titian had portrayed the form of his princely patron has perished. Duke Alfonso was then about forty; his hair and beard were already turning slightly grey. His characteristic hooked nose, somewhat drawn downwards at the end, gave to his strong face a stamp of individuality. Titian painted the Duke as his contemporaries described him—"of bronzed com-

plexion, with keen eyes, severe and terrible to look upon." He was represented at half-length, his left hand gripped his sword, his right rested on a heavy gun; he was famous throughout Italy as a caster of guns, and even now the names of his powerful cannon are known. The strong impression created by this picture is attested by the praise and admiration it called forth, amongst others from no less a man than Michelangelo, who in 1529, passing through Ferrara in his flight to Venice, was invited by the Duke to visit the art treasures in the castle. Four years later, at the wish of Charles V.'s all-powerful secretary Covos, to whom Titian had spoken of the portrait, it was sent to Bologna, and it pleased the Emperor so much that he caused it to be hung up in his own room. From thence it passed to Spain, and there it disappeared. Titian executed a replica for Ercole II., the successor of his patron, which so far differed from the original that in it Alfonso was wearing the insignia of the Order of St. Michael: "the one was as like the other as two drops of water," wrote Tebaldi in 1536. But this work also only survives in a copy (Palazzo Pitti, Florence).

Whilst the picture which recorded the features of Lucrezia Borgia was lost, the much-admired portrait of Laura Dianti (according to Justi), her successor at the side of the Duke, has been preserved in Aegidius Sadeler's well-known engraving and in many copies. It represents a proud and splendidly dressed woman resting her left hand on the shoulder of an Ethiopian page. A portrait of Ercole II. had come into Spain with that of Alfonso. This has been lately connected with the picture at the Prado, till now erroneously entitled "Alfonso of Ferrara," of which we shall presently have to speak.

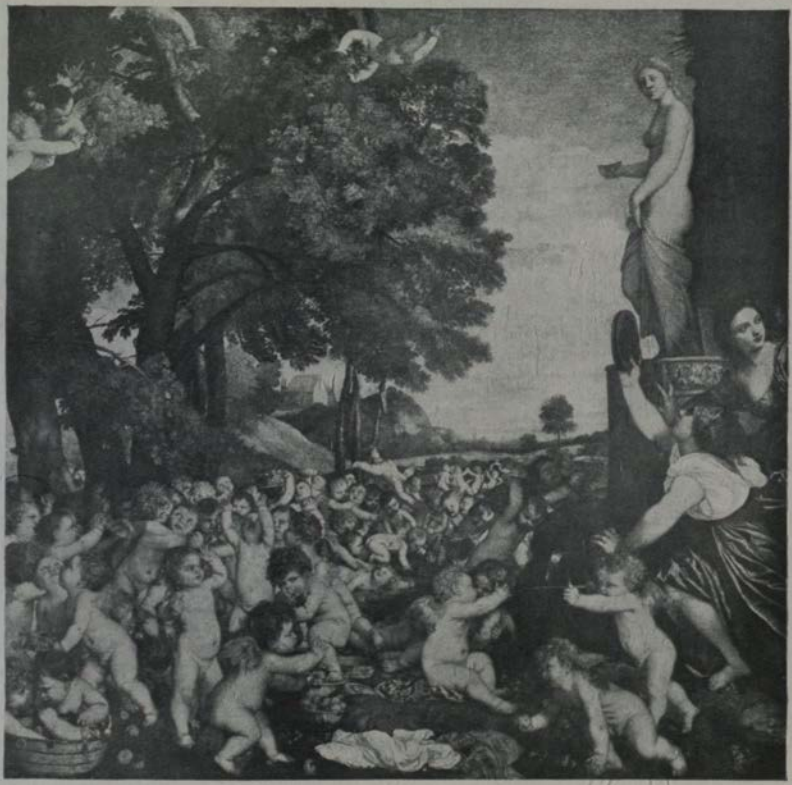
In a letter of the year 1517 Titian mentions a "bagno" (bath) that the Duke had commissioned him to paint. This is probably the "Venus with the Shell" (Bridgewater House, London), a picture which for harmony of colour and conception of form may be assigned to this period. The figure is that of a full-grown woman standing in the blue water which ripples round her knees, while with her hands she dries her long hair. A mussel-shell slowly floating on the sea is the only indication that the spectator is to see here something more than a very fascinating genre motive. The pose is exquisite. Titian used the greatest tenderness of brush to make the bright form stand out softly in relief against the sky and water. With what lovely eyes she gazes at us! The beauty of her glance may compensate for the fact that she is wanting in the unconscious majesty of the goddess.

A kind fate has preserved for us those pictures concerning which the Duke's ire was so often roused. In the Castello of Ferrara, which stands like a gloomy fortress surrounded by a moat, there were several rooms called the "Alabaster Chambers," on account of the rich marble decoration adorning their walls, the work of Alfonso Lombardi. For the first of these Alfonso I. had employed the very best masters he could press into his service. To the left on entering the visitor beheld Titian's "Bacchus and Ariadne," beside it his "Bacchanal," and next to it again the "Bacchanal" of Giovanni Bellini. Opposite the entrance hung the "Worship of Venus," by Titian, and a mythological picture by Dosso Dossi, no doubt that "Bacchanal" of which Vasari says it alone sufficed to procure for its author the reputation of a first-rate master. The "Triumph of Bacchus and Ariadne," by Garofalo, now

passed from the Este Collection into the Dresden Gallery, as well as the "Triumph of Bacchus," by Pellegrino da San Daniele, probably also adorned the same apartment.

It is easy to understand the intention of the Prince who ordered these pictures. The brightness and joys of life were to beam at him on all sides from these brilliant walls. For he was by no means indifferent to the pleasures life can afford. The aged Giovanni Bellini was the first to receive a commission for these pictures, and this can best be explained by his far-spread fame as a master. For a painter who, even to extreme old age, had principally treated sacred subjects, he acquitted himself with his uncongenial theme exceedingly well. Gods and demi-gods assembled together for a feast are lying on the ground in the midst of a cheerful landscape, drinking and enjoying the fruits of the earth and laughing gaily at the jokes of the wittiest of the party. Vasari reports that Titian finished this picture, and his hand is said to be recognisable in the splendid landscape background. It is dated 1514, and is now in the possession of the Duke of Northumberland at Alnwick Castle. But Bellini had already received payment for his work in 1514, and we do not hear of any visit of Titian's to Ferrara till two years later.

Titian executed for the Duke at long intervals (between 1518 and 1523) three works for the Alabaster Chamber: the "Worship of Venus" and the "Bacchanal," both now in Madrid, and finally the "Bacchus and Ariadne," now in London. The subjects for the two first, taken from the late Greek author Philostratus, and for the last from Catullus, had been suggested by the Duke. The painter wrote on April 1, 1518, that the suggestions enclosed in the letter had seemed to him as pretty and ingenious as



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WORSHIP OF VENUS

PRADO, MADRID

could be found. Three weeks later the envoy Tebaldi again betook himself to the artist, explained the whole scheme to him, and handed him a paper on which was a small sketch of one of the figures.

In the "Worship of Venus" Titian adhered closely to the text of Philostratus. We find here group for group just as described. To the right the lofty marble statue of Venus to whom two nymphs are doing homage, one with the action of a bacchante, a wreath of flowers in her fair hair, in features resembling the shepherd maiden in the "Three Ages"; the other more serious, with pretty gentle features, both of that exuberant style of beauty to be found in the women of the half-length pictures. They are offering oblations to the goddess. At her feet we see the gayest, busiest throng. Hundreds of naked winged children, playing merrily together, loading baskets with the apples they have plucked from the large trees, pelting each other with the fruit or stamping on it with their little feet. Here one is taking aim at another with his bow, one climbs on the back of another and bites his ear, others roll on the ground or play with a hare who is anxiously striving to escape from their clutches. There a couple are embracing each other, and one is lifting laboriously a basket on to his back, as an offering for the goddess. Far off in the distance a ring of merry children are singing and dancing. Jubilant sounds from many little throats rise up among the thick trees and fill the broad meadow-land.

It was fortunate for Titian that the theme suggested to him by others fitted in with what was then already occupying him in his art. In the "Assumption" he had been painting children's figures for the first time in great

numbers and had felt inspired by the charm of their undeveloped forms and innocent unconscious movements. Now it was open to him, in fact it was imposed on him by the task set him, to represent children in active motion. Primitive art may succeed in reproducing the seriousness of manhood, it is reserved for a riper period to present the roguish loveliness of childhood. And this was not the least important achievement of three great masters, Raphael, Titian and Correggio, whom Italy saw rise to fame almost at the same time. We can easily recall to memory how differently, each in his own manner, they set about this task, and yet all in their several styles arrived for the first time at full perfection.

Still greater exuberance of joy pervades the "Bacchanal," or, if we prefer to retain the name in Philostratus, the "Andrians." The fiery gift of the god is pouring out like a stream from a hill in the background and has loosened all restraint. Bronze-faced men and voluptuously beautiful women give themselves up to enjoyment. "*Chi boist et ne reboit ne çais qua boir soit*" is the device we read on a roll of music lying in front on the ground. So the dark-eyed beauty holds her cup aloft into which a cup-bearer is pouring the wine, another raises a half-filled crystal cup, one fat reveller drinks from a large jug and another catches the liquid as it flows along the ground like a stream. Here a man and woman are dancing together, their garments fluttering in the wind, whilst in the foreground a fair bacchante, completely nude and overcome by the fumes of wine, has fallen down fast asleep. The action of the boy near her is like that of a bacchante-boy in Rubens's "Intoxicated Silenus" in Berlin.

Gorgeous colour gives life to the picture and the desired

effect to this scene of wanton merry-making. The warm glow of a summer's day lights up the landscape, the sky is of a deep blue, over which white clouds are slowly rising. Heads, an upraised arm, a single figure stand out dark against this background. The contrast of the dark bodies of the men with the radiant forms of the women is softened by their white and coloured garments. The left half of the picture is overshadowed by a group of trees; the forms of the sleeping nymph and the dancing pair shine out in bright light.

The last picture Titian painted for this cyclus was brought in January 1523 to Ferrara, and finished by the artist himself on the spot. For compactness of composition the "Bacchus and Ariadne" (National Gallery) excels the two others, for rapidity of movement and harmony of colour it is in no wise inferior. Ariadne, deserted by Jason, has been startled by the loud uproar of a bacchanalian procession of men, women and children which suddenly bursts helter-skelter from a wood. Cymbals and tambourines are clashing, a goat-footed satyr swings aloft the foot of an animal torn in pieces, and a satyr-boy drags the head after him by a string, singing loudly the while. A man, his naked body entwined with snakes, comes dancing along in delight, and in the background the stout form of Silenus, who can barely support himself on an ass, and a man heavily dragging a wine-barrel bring up the rear of the procession. Ariadne is fleeing towards the shore, but as she goes she looks round. Close behind her the golden chariot drawn by panthers has come to a halt, and with one spring the young and handsome god, whom the noisy throng are following, flings himself out of the chariot after the fugitive. His

deep red garment flutters aloft in the air. His action is even more impetuous than the marching, jumping and rioting of his band, and as he towers above them all, his is the only figure relieved against the broad background of coast and sky. The warm sunlight falls strong and full upon him, whilst on his lively group of followers it is chequered by shadows from the trees.

Here we have an entirely new creation, based on the ancient legend handed down by the poet. Catullus' verses supply the groundwork of the picture, and single details are taken from them for the figures; but there is no trace in it of any constraint Titian had to put upon his genius, simply because he did not feel it.

In less than ten years the artist had lived through a complete inward change. Repressed feeling characterises that first period of which we may regard the "Three Ages" and "Sacred and Profane Love" as the fullest realisation; and here we find him depicting scenes of wild rejoicing, choosing in place of the quiet hour of sunset the glare of day, and giving triumphant expression to a delight in fully developed beauty and in the pleasures of life.

CHAPTER IV

THE GREAT ALTAR-PICTURES

Scarcely had these relations with the Duke of Ferrara begun and the first commissions for him been undertaken, when the Master's services were most urgently demanded from other quarters. An (altar?) picture representing the Archangel Michael, accompanied by the Saints George and Theodorus, was set in hand by order of the Signoria of Venice, and was to be sent, together with valuable articles in gold and carpets, as a present to Lautrec, the French King's general, then residing at Milan. "It was not allowed to be sent off," so Sanuto informs us. Where the picture remained is quite uncertain.

And now the Master began at last a work in his grandest style. The High Altar of the Church of Santa Maria Gloriosa de' Frari was still without any pictorial adornment. The Prior of the Convent had already, in 1516, at his own expense put up the enormous marble frame which was destined to enclose a picture befitting the importance and size of the church. In less than two years this picture, the "Assumption," was completed by Titian.

The scene in which the Virgin Mary is rising to Heaven and the Apostles are gathering round her empty tomb had very seldom been represented in Venetian painting.

Titian was therefore not bound by any fetters of tradition. And it was of still greater importance to him that in place of a subject which demanded formal, reposeful attitudes—as was hitherto the case with altar-pictures—he here had one which called for dramatic action. It could be an entirely original creation, even to the characters of the Apostles, and, indeed, that of the Blessed Virgin herself, to whose honour the picture was destined.

How he fulfilled his difficult task is known to all. Yet whoever to-day looks at Titian's "Assumption" in the Accademia—and it is usually one of the first great impressions that await the traveller from the north to Venice—must always acknowledge that in its present position it does not quite explain itself. We must, in our mind's eye, transport Titian's original back to its place in the Church of the Frari, now occupied by a copy.

When the picture was viewed in the dim light of the church and from a greater distance, the first thing distinguished was the principal figure, Mary, a magnificent woman, gazing ecstatically upwards, wrapped in her deep red garment and her waving blue mantle, and floating in a sea of golden light. Then the beholder would perhaps perceive how clouds are bearing her up, which fill out and become alive in the form of innumerable boy-angels. These massive clouds throw a deep shadow on the earth, and nothing can be distinguished in it but arms stretched upwards, here a powerful figure seen from behind, or there a head turned up in adoration.

Now a top light strikes the picture too uniformly in all its parts, takes from it something of its supernatural impression, and militates against the gloom which, according to Titian's intention, should make the earthly forms recede.

We have them now right in front, as close to us as possible, and we feel ourselves oppressed by their overpowering size. Not till we have quietly studied them can we grasp the inner grandeur of these figures, their impassioned action, the harmonious symphony produced by an endless variety of motives. The Apostles behold the miracle take place, they understand it, they follow it with their hands. Titian exhausts every possible expedient for effect in this group. The eye is especially struck by a young man in the centre, somewhat to the left, who, with strong emotion, lays his hand on his breast, and by the Apostle who forms a counterpart to him, whose back view is seen standing out strongest in the foreground, while his whole body seems to follow the upward movement.

So closely does the cloud float over the group of the Apostles that the foremost of them almost touches it with his outstretched hand. Above, silent inward emotion gives place to the rejoicings of sweet-toned voices. Boy-angels have descended in the cloud and surround in a semicircle the floating form of the Virgin. Some are bearing her, others are singing; they point out to each other the Mother of God, they adore her. We see here every grade of childlike feeling and every phase of childhood. Even a touch of playfulness is not wanting; some of them hide themselves behind the fluttering end of Mary's mantle. What a difference between this playful troop and the sweet but serious child-angels who are playing on their instruments at the feet of the Mother of God enthroned in the pictures of Bellini, Carpaccio, or Cima! Glance round the room in which the "Assunta" hangs, and then compare! A new world of perception and feeling in art had been disclosed.

With arms outspread the Almighty Father bends down from Heaven. The circle of angels around Him vanishes into brilliant light. Beside Him a superb angel figure holds the coronet to be placed on the head of Mary.

As the form of the Madonna dominates the composition, so the red of her garment gives the keynote to the colour of the picture. It reappears toned off in varying shades in the robe of the Eternal—close to whom is an angel in deep green—and in the garments of the two most prominent Apostles.

As we look at a picture like this, completely novel as it was in every respect, we cannot help asking the question what effect it had on Titian's contemporaries, nor can we suppress a feeling of disappointment that only faint rumours, few and indistinct, have come down to us. Ridolfi relates an anecdote that Padre Germano, the Guardian, who ordered the picture, was constantly dinning into Titian's ears that the Apostles' figures were on too large a scale, till he was informed by others who understood more than he, that this was necessary on account of the enormous space. No doubt there were not wanting some who disliked novelty, and who predicted that the grand art of the Old Masters was passed and gone for ever. The weightiest testimony we have of the impression created is from the short notice in Sanuto's Diaries, because the mere fact that this statesman considered the news worth recording gives us an idea of the excitement it aroused in Venice. Sanuto writes under date of May 20, 1518: "S. Bernardino's Day. And yesterday the panel painted by Titian for the High Altar in Santa Maria, the Minorites' Church, was put up." On that day, the eve of S. Bernardino's festival, the older art was borne

to its grave. Titian, now conscious of his own powers, leaves behind him the ideals and achievements of his forerunners.

Of the altar-pictures which now followed at short intervals, some, from their composition and affinity in sentiment, are brought into close connection with one another. The altar-picture ordered by Luigi of Ragusa for the Church of San Francesco at Ancona, which has now been transferred to the Church of San Domenico, belonging, according to the inscription, to the year 1520, shows for the first time the Madonna enthroned on a thick bank of cloud. She holds the Child, who is full of animation, on her lap, and bends gently down to earth, while child-angels play around her, two of whom are offering her wreaths. Her form is bathed in golden light, and heavy white clouds float at her feet. St. Francis and Bishop Blaise participate in the heavenly vision. They stand to right and left, so that the centre remains clear for a wide view over a plain, from which rises a church tower. St. Blaise, with a gesture so impetuous that it shakes his whole frame, points heavenwards, directing thither the attention of the kneeling donor, whose head, with its deep-set eyes, the white of which comes out strongly, and whose wonderfully lifelike hands remind us of the Augustinian monk in the "Concert." More severe in composition than the majority of Titian's pictures—it forms an almost exact pyramid, with the Madonna's figure for the apex—less rich in colouring than many, it yet compels our attention as the earliest of the altar-pictures which enables us to grasp the Master's new ideas of colour. Variety of light and shade produces charming effects; here we have the upper part of a boy-angel's body in bright light, while the rest of it remains in shadow.

The Virgin's robe shows no longer the usual nuances of red and blue, it is now more a combination of brown-red and deep blue.

Closely related to this work in many points is the Madonna picture which, according to tradition, was put up in 1523 on the high altar of the little Church of San Niccolò de' Frari in Venice. Even now, though cruelly mutilated—the arched top, which was really necessary, has been cut away—it overwhelms us with the magic of its colouring as well as with its lifelike presentment of a number of different characters, and upholds the fame of Venetian painting in the Vatican Gallery.

The Madonna floats down on a bank of white cloud, accompanied by two little angels with wreaths in their hands. The Child lies kicking about in her lap. From the dove, which has now disappeared, rays of light shoot down on their heads. The gentle glance of Mary is directed towards the six saints who are grouped in front of the curve of a ruined wall. Further in the background are the two patron saints of the Franciscan order, St. Francis and St. Anthony. Right in front, as the predominant figure, stands in full canonicals the holy Bishop to whom the church was dedicated, a white-bearded old man, full of life and vigour, looking up from a book in which St. Peter is also reading. Quite to the left in profile is St. Catherine; quite to the right, and apart from the others, the only one turning out from the picture towards the spectator is St. Sebastian.

The colouring is here handled in wonderfully rich gradation of tone. The nude form of Sebastian, whose head, delicate as a woman's, is in shadow, shines out in a warm golden glow beside the dark cowls of the monks. These

again lead the eye on to the yellow mantle of St. Peter, and to the rich brocade of the Bishop's vestment—a fluctuating sea of colour against the background of dusky masonry. Above the group the white cloud hovers, supporting the bright forms of the children, and over all are the golden rays.

A woodcut by Niccolò Boldrini, the design for which was, it is said, made by Titian himself, repeats the group of six saints. Besides some minor variations, we note the important difference that Sebastian here is turned towards the other saints and his face lifted up to gaze at the Virgin. While the grouping below appears more compact, we miss the radiant light which in the picture comes from this figure prominent in the foreground. It has always awakened the special interest of the spectator, attention is at once attracted to it, and returns to it again. Dolce reports that Pordenone exclaimed on beholding this figure: "I believe Titian for this nude form must have used real flesh instead of colours!" Vasari's praise sounds somewhat forced: "The Sebastian is painted from life, just as he saw the model, and without any attempt to idealise the beauty in the legs and torso; the figure seems to live (stampato dal vivo), so great is the realism of the flesh; but," he adds, "for all that, it is considered beautiful (ma con tutto ciò è tenuto bello)." How little could Vasari understand Titian's worth as an artist when he ventured to censure where Titian's highest qualities were displayed! Who was there in all Italy who was capable of painting true to life and in its full splendour a young man's form with the same artistic power and the same feeling for natural beauty? It was, in fact, because he was conscious of creating here a figure more beautiful than had ever

before been seen that he gave to it in his altered composition its prominent position, separated from the others, and that he concentrated on it the highest light.

A similar arrangement appears for the third time in another picture which, far more advanced in its colour scheme, points therefore to a somewhat later period, but in the choice of colours bears so close a relation to these two pictures, especially to the altar-picture at Ancona, that it cannot have been produced at a long interval after them. We allude to the "Assumption of the Virgin" in the Cathedral of Verona. Here the whole background is filled by a thick mass of grey and white clouds, borne upon which the Virgin rises, kneeling with folded hands, her form relieved against the golden brightness of a cloud interwoven with angels' heads. Her dark blue mantle is drawn over her head, so that a portion of her countenance remains in shadow. Unlike the "Assunta," she does not gaze joyfully upwards, her eyes are turned down to where the Apostles, left behind, are pressing round the empty sarcophagus, which here fills the whole foreground. Some of them look into it and convince themselves that it is empty, the greater number, however, gaze in passionate wonder after her vanishing form. We notice Mary's girdle in the outstretched hand of St. Thomas. It is a splendid group, full of animation; here is one kneeling down at the foot of the sarcophagus supporting himself with his arms on the marble rim; in the centre is an old man, his body still turned towards the empty tomb, while his head is directed upwards, represented between two movements. The wonderful transitions from dark orange and deep red (the first Apostle on the left) to yellowish-white (the old man looking upwards in the centre), yellowish-red and dark

D. Anderson

THE ASSUMPTION OF THE VIRGIN

VERONA

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brown (the Apostle on the right), are brought together by the yellow-grey of the sarcophagus. Rays of light from above cause a detail here and there to stand out more warmly. This second edition of the "Assumption," which for historical importance and celebrity cannot be measured with the much-admired picture in the Academy of Venice, for beauty of colour nearly approaches the "Entombment of Christ" in Paris.

Painted about 1523 for the Marquis of Mantua—of whose relations with Titian we shall speak later—the picture last named may be regarded as Titian's maturest composition of this period and one of his most successful creations in colour. The peculiar lighting he has chosen makes the fascinating play of colour come naturally. A ray of sunshine breaks forth from a heavy and overcast sky, illumines the edge of the clouds and makes the body of Christ and the cere-cloth on which He is being carried shine out in strong relief, conjures up manifold charming touches of light on the full red robe of Nicodemus and gleams on the yellow dress of the Magdalen. To the right a mass of trees, with branches standing out dark against the sky bathed in sunlight, closes in the background and throws the Sepulchre into gloom. The group moves slowly in that direction. The naked form of Christ lying in the cere-cloth is borne by Nicodemus and Joseph of Arimathea, and the former, together with John, supports the shoulders of the Redeemer, and as he is bending forwards he throws the head and breast of the body into half-shadow. Both gaze with deep emotion into His face. John lifts up the right arm of Christ and shows it to the two women on the left. By this means he forms a link between the two groups. Mary, wrapped in her deep

blue mantle, from which her grief-stricken face quite in profile appears, presses her hands together, whilst the Magdalen clasps her round with an impassioned movement, her fluttering hair and painfully drawn features betraying her deep agitation.

It has been objected to Titian's "Entombment" that much in it is forced in effect, and that even Christ's body is not ideal enough in form. The intellectual element in Raphael's "Entombment" in the Borghese Gallery is pointed to and a not too flattering comparison drawn between it and Titian's picture. No doubt, looking at a work of art, each man is free to interpret it by the thoughts it awakens in himself, but he should be careful not to imagine his own ideas must be the same as those which inspired the artist when he conceived and painted his picture; for his are so exclusively directed to what is purely pictorial, that it is very difficult to grasp them, especially now, when it is no longer possible for us to follow each stage of development. The thoughtful element is not brought out more strongly, does not tend more to the "Ideal" in Raphael than in Titian, but Raphael strives to express a perfectly harmonious composition in which all the parts fit in to one another by means of absolute purity of line. Titian's aim and practice are diametrically opposite; in his "Entombment" he strives after absolute beauty by means of colour. We should seek for an artist's ideal where he himself desired to express it, not in our own preconceived view or in the traditional dogma of a school; for only thus can we form a dispassionate judgment of an artist and his art.

Almost at the same time that he was evolving such masterpieces as pure schemes of colour, Titian was apply-

ing his whole powers in other pictures to a highly realistic rendering of a single figure. The Sebastian in the altar-picture of Brescia of 1522, and the St. Christopher in the Doge's palace, produced about 1523, are examples of his achievement in a direction foreign to his natural genius.

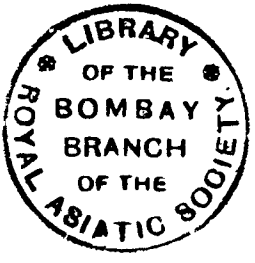
The altar-picture was destined by the donor, Altobello di Averoldo, Bishop of Pola and papal legate in Venice, for the high altar of the Church of SS. Nazzaro e Celso in his native town of Brescia. Tebaldi had been complaining to the Duke of Ferrara in 1519 that it was this commission which was the cause why the pictures for the Alabaster Chamber were delayed. Titian took about three years to complete the picture. He worked at it with the greatest care. And yet the impression which the work produces is not satisfactory. It excites our admiration but at the same time leaves us cold.

The painter, however, must not be blamed for this; for here he had to exercise his talents on an impossible task, because the Bishop wished a series of scenes to be introduced into the altar-piece which could not be combined in a single scheme of composition. Titian selected the only alternative that remained to him—he made use of the form of the Polyptych. So the work consists of five panels grouped together, not of one single whole. The centre panel, in which is the Resurrection of Christ, fills the entire height of the altar-piece. Both side panels are subdivided into two unequal halves; the two upper and smaller ones contain the half-length figures of an "Annunciation," the left-hand lower one the two patron saints of the church, who are presenting the donor; the corresponding panel on the right the figure of St. Sebastian.

The arrangement adopted, perhaps the only one possible, is in Venetian art of that period happily only an echo of the past, though not a solitary example, of archaic taste in a patron—Lotto's altar-piece at Ponteranica shows a similar arrangement. We must remember that the figure of the risen Lord is thrust in between the two parts of an "Annunciation." Charmingly as this scene is presented —for Titian never painted a more wonderfully beautiful head than that of the Archangel nor so meek a Virgin— the spectator is deprived of all pleasure in it.

If we set aside these considerations, we cannot fail to do justice to the many beauties which this picture, especially its centre panel, contains. Titian has chosen an effect of late evening, when the setting sun still lights up the edges of the clouds and catches the tip of the distant church tower, whilst the foreground remains hidden in semi-darkness. Guarding the tomb are two soldiers, who start up in astonishment. One has already sprung to his feet, his profile dark in relief against the sky; on the breast-plate of his companion, who is trying with difficulty to get up from the ground, the last gleams of sunlight call forth subtle reflections. In the midst is the ascending form of Christ radiant in the glory of victory. He is portrayed almost nude, of powerful frame, with no trace left of earthly suffering; in His left hand, with a gesture full of power, He grasps the globe. A storm of wind is indicated by the fluttering banner of victory which He holds in His right hand and by His swelled-out shroud; and thus the Risen Lord ascends to Heaven.

The left wing of the altar-piece, with the donor and the two saints, is kept subordinate to the central scene. Here the figures are subdued in treatment, without any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ST. SEBASTIAN

SAN NAZARO E CELSO, BRESCIA

strong effect in colour. The corresponding panel, however, competes with the idea of the centre in a way that cannot well be justified. This side panel is almost entirely filled by the figure of Sebastian, so that there is only a glimpse of distance on the left. In front of a group of trees we see an angel comforting St. Roch. Not only did the wonderful artistic perfection of this figure of Sebastian arouse the greatest interest, but for love of it the painter gave up his chosen effect of light and represented the saint in strong sunshine; Sebastian thus becomes the principal figure in this altar-piece instead of the ascending Christ.

We learn from Tebaldi's correspondence with the Duke what special care Titian had expended on the figure. The Duke's agent had heard rumours about it, he became curious, and resolved to pay a visit to the studio, where he met several Venetians led thither likewise by curiosity, and there he heard Titian assert to them all that this was the best thing he had ever done. And Tebaldi adds on his own account: "I am no judge, as I understand nothing of drawing; but, looking at the limbs and muscles, the figure seems to me to be as natural as a corpse." He ventured, indeed, so far in the interests of his master that he tried to rescue the picture from the Bishop who had ordered it. At first Duke Alfonso was disposed to be a party to this fraudulent transaction—the legate was to be compensated by a replica—but in the end preferred not to incur the anger of the powerful prelate, and let the matter drop.

Titian had set himself a particularly difficult problem of action in the pose he gave to this man of strong physique. The head is bending down in the act of death; the knees give and can no longer bear the weight of the body, which is held up by fetters that cut deeply into the flesh.

Without this support he would fall forward. All this is depicted with marvellous skill; the play of muscles is closely observed and fully defined by the modelling in a strong light. In a certain sense this Sebastian is a perfect work, but as a Titianesque work it is not perfect. Wherever Titian tries to rival those Masters who are at their best in depicting human forms of extraordinary physical strength because it suited their artistic genius, he fails to give us pure æsthetic enjoyment. This may be said of the Sebastian and also of the St. Christopher painted by Titian in fresco on a wall of the Doge's palace opposite a small staircase which led to the Doge's private apartments. In this figure preternatural strength was justified by the theme, and the sweet half-playful relation between the Child Christ and the giant on whose back He is fearlessly sitting delights the beholder. Nevertheless, we can scarcely regret that Titian did not repeat such attempts at excessive development of form.

In the St. Christopher the artist handles fresco-painting with great certainty. It is evident that the brush has been wielded with the ease and knowledge of a practised hand. A more important task had afforded the Master opportunity to exercise himself in fresco, such as he most probably had not had since he stayed at Padua in 1511. It must have been immediately after Doge Andrea Gritti's election to the highest dignity in the State on May 20, 1523, that he gave Titian the commission to decorate a church in the Ducal Palace. It was dedicated to San Niccolò, situated over the Scala dei Giganti, and called the "chiesa nuova," to distinguish it from the chapel in the upper storey where the Doge usually heard Mass. Titian apparently set about the work with unwonted

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DOGE ANDREA GRITTI

CZERNIN GALLERY, VIENNA

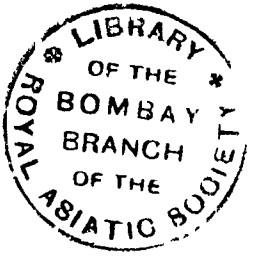
zeal, for Sanuto reports, under date December 6, 1523, as follows: "St. Nicholas' Day. The Doge with the Signoria . . . went to Mass in the new Church of St. Nicholas, which the present Doge has caused to be almost completely re-decorated. In it there is an excellent painting by the hand of Titian of the Doge himself, together with his little dog and other figures . . . "St. Nicholas and the four Evangelists writing the Gospels." This short description is somewhat expanded by Ridolfi and Boschini. In a lunette above the altar was the Madonna with the Child, at her right the titular Saint of the Church in his rich episcopal vestments, therefore probably like the figure in the altar-picture in the Vatican; and on her left the Doge Gritti kneeling. At each side of the altar were the Evangelists. Finally, in the lunette over the entrance was seen St. Mark seated, with his lion. This rich fresco decoration perished utterly at the end of the eighteenth century. Some time before that date the walls had been whitewashed over, but then, in 1797, the plaster was pulled down altogether.

Among the portraits of this Doge which the Master executed, one has been preserved, in the Czernin Gallery, Vienna, and it is the only one surviving of all the Doges' portraits Titian must have painted in his capacity of official painter to the Republic. To all appearance it must have served as a preliminary study for a State portrait, and was broadly sketched in and finished by the Master in a few sittings. It cannot fail to create a strong impression from the spontaneous freshness of its design and the truth to nature in its technique. The Prince is portrayed about down to his hips, wearing the Doge's cap and a robe of State glittering with gold; he gazes attentively to the left with a somewhat severe expression about his firmly-closed mouth.

His clenched hand appears from under his broad sleeve and seems to suit his upright figure. The play of light on the gold brocade, the broad stripe of white fur lining, the white beard and the gold lace on the ducal cap are used as effective bits of colour. The eyes, partly in shadow under projecting brows, are made the central point of an impressive personality and give us an idea of the consummate art with which Titian managed to express the individuality of a great man even in a State portrait.

As early as the April of 1519 the painter had received an order from Jacopo Pesaro, Bishop of Paphos, the same for whom he had painted the votive picture already mentioned, to execute a large altar-picture for the Church of the Frari, in which his family were buried. From time to time Titian received instalments of payment for this picture, which, however, proceeded but slowly, as he was much occupied elsewhere. The final payment followed on May 27, 1526. On December 8 of the same year a solemn festival was held, when the Madonna picture was placed over "the altar the Pesaro family have erected" (Sanuto).

The painter apparently drew the first sketch and finished certain portions of the picture not long after he had received the commission, for these show most affinity to the pictorial aims that characterise the period immediately preceding—bright light in all parts, not changeful effect of chiaroscuro. Here we once more have that type of the Virgin Mary as a woman in the full development of her beauty which appears in the "Santa Conversazione" at Dresden and, at its best, in the figure of the Madonna in the "Annunciation" at Treviso. Once more, too, the traditional colours of the Madonna's robe—red and blue in the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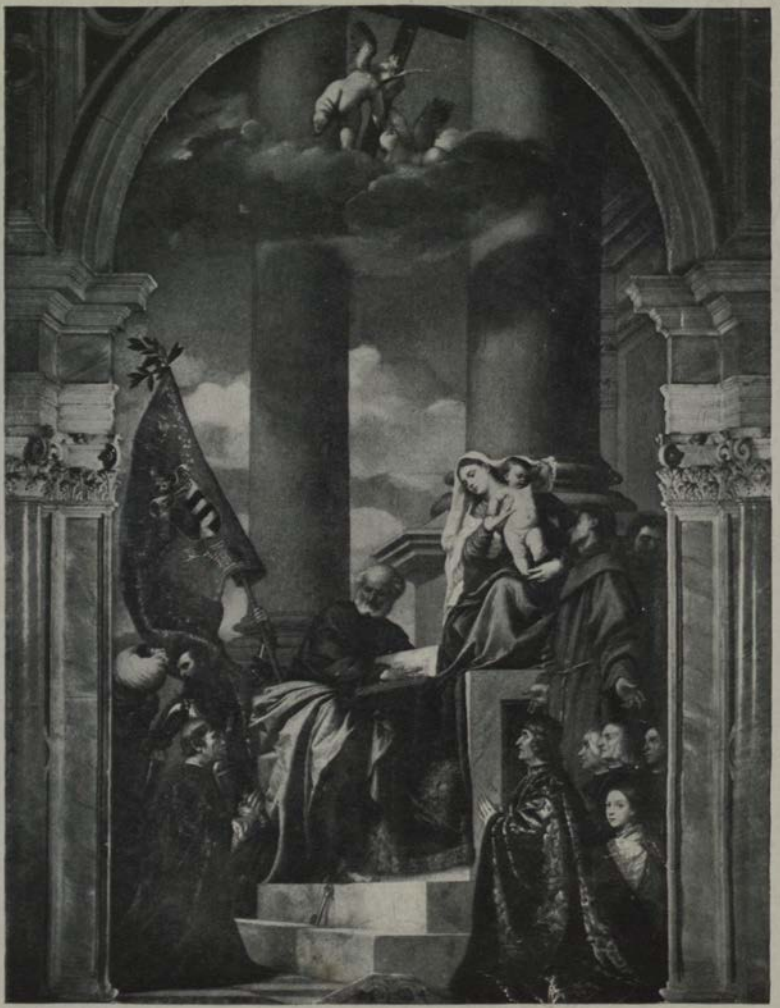


D. Anderson

THE "PESARO" MADONNA

CHURCH OF THE FRARI, VENICE

customary shades—dominate in their radiant richness all other colours in the picture.

So far Titian held to tradition, but at the same time in this Pesaro Madonna he wrought as mighty a revolution as had ever been experienced in the history of the altar-picture. His genius enabled him boldly to break with the older form of strict composition. Whereas formerly the Madonna was enthroned in the centre and the saints grouped at regular distances to right and left, here the principal axis is pushed on one side. A diagonal line cuts through the composition and leads from the Madonna past the figure of Peter to the donor; on the right side a perpendicular line, having for its base the group of the donor's family, is taken through St. Francis' figure up to the Madonna. By this means, as the principal lines meet in the figure of the Madonna, she becomes the central point of the picture, even though she occupies a place quite to the right side of it. Her lofty throne is raised on a series of marble steps, so that she towers above all the other figures. She is bending forwards and looks down on the kneeling Jacopo Pesaro. St. Peter serves as an intermediate figure, for he leans against the throne and turns his eyes from his book to the donor. In rear of the latter a bearded warrior, in glittering steel armour, holds up in his left hand a silken banner adorned with the arms of the Borgias and leads a Turk and a Moor in chains, as prisoners of war, to the throne of the Virgin. This points to that victorious expedition against the Turks which was the great event of Jacopo Pesaro's life. On the opposite side kneel the family of the donor, three elderly men, a youth and a fair-haired boy, who, with a charming expression of curiosity, gazes out of the picture. Above them stand the two chief saints of the order to

which the Frari church belongs, who are also the patron saints of the two brothers of the Bishop of Paphos. Anthony keeps modestly in the background, Francis stands close by the throne and gazes ecstatically up to the Child Christ and points to those kneeling below. How winning is the attitude of the Child, just caught from life! He is lightly poised in His mother's lap, holding up one little leg which she clasps, while He playfully catches hold of her white veil, as if He were trying to draw it over His head. This unaffected gaiety in the Child affords an indescribably touching contrast to the dignified demeanour of the saintly personages and the reverential devotion of the supplicating Bishop.

In the background rise up two enormous pillars, between them a calm blue sky is seen, streaked with broad white clouds. Another cloud, on which are two little angels carrying the cross, sinks downwards, lighted up brightly by the sun, and casts a broad line of shadow on the grey stone.

The consummate art with which Titian has also managed his scheme of colour so as to concentrate the interest of the picture on the group of the Madonna, must always be regarded as one of his greatest achievements. The white veil surrounding her and the Child is in full sunshine, and forms the highest spot of light in the picture, and this brightness extends to the face of the Virgin and the body of the Child. Peter is the next to attract the eye from his position almost in the centre, and also from the contrast between the dark blue colour of his tunic and a deep golden yellow mantle round his body. The lowest tones in the scheme are given to the group of donors in the foreground, because otherwise they would absorb too

much attention. Jacopo Pesaro is in black satin, relieved against the shining orange of his banner, which forms the background behind him ; to the right the foremost Pesaro has a claret-coloured mantle of costly damask. The soft childlike face of the boy strikes us in contrast with the sharply-marked faces and hooked noses of the older men, whilst his white satin tunic shines out brightly from the various shades of dark red in their costume.

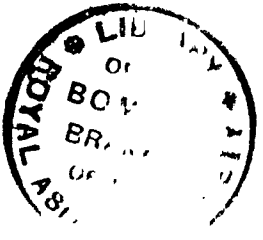
This combination of lines and colours makes the Pesaro Madonna perhaps the most important composition that Titian ever produced. No work from his hand has had greater influence on following ages. His successors took it as their model for altar-pictures of the Madonna. In the Barocco period it was revived again by Rubens.

Two great altar-pictures by Titian's hand now adorned the Church of the Frari, and a few steps away his Madonna shone out above the high altar of San Niccolò. One would have thought that his superiority must be sufficiently established in the eyes of his countrymen by these works. Yet we find the Scuola of Peter Martyr hesitating to entrust to the Master the picture which they desired to put up over the altar of their patron saint in San Giovanni e Paolo. To test the powers of the best painters they invited, somewhere about the beginning of 1528, a competition between Titian, Palma, and Pordenone. The three designs having been examined, Titian was commissioned to execute the picture. Soon after these events Palma died (July 30, 1528). At the beginning of his career he was a fellow worker and equal in art with Titian, but had now been left far behind by his former comrade. Two years later, at the end of April 1530, after some differences between the artist and the

Scuola concerning payment had been settled, the picture was ready to be put up in San Giovanni e Paolo. On April 30, the feast of the sainted Peter Martyr, the altar-piece was for the first time shown to the public.

At no time of his life was Titian more fitted to deal with a subject so highly dramatic as that of the death of Peter Martyr. He filled his picture in every part with violent movement, impassioned feeling, and awe-inspiring grandeur, which bear eloquent witness to the inward sympathy between the Master and his work. Here Nature herself seems disturbed. The huge trees sway as in a storm. The broad landscape is seen "under a lurid light which materially helps to characterise the incident" (Burckhardt). In the foreground are the three colossal figures: the saint who lies prostrate as he has fallen on the slope of a precipitous bank, his arm and eyes raised upwards; over him stands the brown form of the hired assassin ready to deal the final death-blow; and to the left the holy man's companion flees in excess of terror, turning to glance behind him as he hurries away. Every detail contributes to give reality to the story. The fluttering cloak of the Dominican, the robe which clings tightly round his body, betray not less than his terrified eye his horror and the haste of his flight. The calm trustfulness of the martyr and the cold-blooded expression of the executioner, who we see is accustomed to his task, form an effective contrast difficult to describe in words. The few colours employed enhance the grandeur of the picture. The white robes of the monks stand out in strong relief from the deep heavy blue of the sky, the brown tint of the trees, and the green of the ground; the

ST. PETER MARTYR (FROM A COPY?)
S. GIOVANNI OF PAOLO, VENICE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dark red round the body of the murderer acts as the only prominent bit of colour.

Up above, in the arched top of the picture, we catch sight of two boy-angels bathed in light, who float down to offer to the dying man the palm of victory. Here, too, is a reflection of the horror of the event below; the smaller of the two angels presses against his companion in terror. The martyr's last look is fastened on this bright apparition, he stretches out his left arm towards it, whilst with a final effort he writes "Credo" on the ground with his right hand.

Vasari says of this picture that it was the grandest masterpiece Titian created in his whole life, the most perfect, the most admired, the best designed and the best executed. The same praise has been lavished on it by all those who had the good fortune to see Titian's original. From the admiration that centuries have bestowed on this picture, posterity can gain a notion of what the "Death of Peter Martyr" must once have been. During the night of August 16, 1867, this picture, together with a Madonna by Giovanni Bellini, was destroyed by fire. The place of the original is now occupied by a copy, which ever keeps alive our regret for an irreparable loss.

"Peter Martyr" is the last of the great altar-pieces produced by Titian in the course of about fourteen years. Having devoted his best powers for more than a decade to great sacred subjects, he now was impelled by his connection with princely courts to works of another kind. From this time onwards altar-pictures occupy a smaller space in the field of his activity.

CHAPTER V

MANTUA AND URBINO. FIRST MEETING WITH CHARLES V.

It would not be without interest to examine what influence politics had on Titian's foreign relations. Much that remains obscure would be explained; we should then understand why more than one connection was suddenly broken off and then renewed again after years had gone by.

Federico Gonzaga, Marquis, afterwards Duke, of Mantua, had, in company with Leo X., been one of the rivals of Venice; but scarcely was the Pope dead when he tried to make peace with his powerful neighbour, and it was not until friendly relations had been established that Titian's connection with the Prince began. He, had indeed, at one time in 1519, paid a short visit from Ferrara to Mantua, in company with Dosso, for the purpose of seeing Mantegna's "Triumph of Cæsar" and other art treasures in the Castle, but he did not then come in contact with the Court. At the end of January 1523 he paid a second visit to Mantua, this time on the invitation of the Prince, and introduced by Giovanni Battista Malatesta, who represented Federico in Venice as his special envoy. The connection between the two men, the Prince and the painter, lasted, with occasional interruptions, till Gonzaga's death in 1540. Federico had a great admiration for

Titian; he spoke of him in a letter to Vittoria Colonna as "certainly the best painter now living," and ventured to add, "*è tutto mio*"—"he is quite devoted to me."

The son of Francesco Gonzaga and Isabella d'Este had early and very deeply imbibed artistic impressions. In his native town he grew up under the influence of the grandest creations of Andrea Mantegna, and as a boy of ten had been painted by Raphael in the "School of Athens." No wonder that he should invite to his Court the great painter who was living so near his capital, and of whose art he must have heard from his uncle, the Duke of Ferrara.

This time Titian remained only a few days in Mantua, as we find him at Ferrara by February 3rd. Federico gave him a letter to Alfonso d'Este, begging him to allow the painter to return for a short time to Mantua. This was chiefly on account of a portrait, which arrived in Mantua in the middle of August 1523. We may venture to presume that the young prince, then twenty-three years of age, would first desire to have his own features immortalised by the hand of the artist. If tradition only records one portrait of Federico by Titian's hand, painted in 1530, and representing the Prince in full armour, it does not therefore follow that Titian did not portray his patron many times.

In the collection of portraits once belonging to the Archduke Ferdinand a small copy has been preserved of a portrait by Titian representing Federico in a simple black costume, turning somewhat to the left, the hair receding slightly from his temples, indicating a man of about thirty. If we compare this with the so-called portrait of Alfonso d'Este (Prado) and the "Giorgio Cornaro" (formerly at

Castle Howard, now in America), we shall come to the conclusion that these latter probably represent none other than the Marquis of Mantua.

The first-named picture might be identified with that portrait of the year 1523. Possibly Charles V., on his visit to Mantua in November 1532, received it as a present, for we learn that a portrait of Gonzaga by Titian's hand then made him wish to have his own likeness taken by the same artist. The proud demeanour of this fine-grown man, his rich costume—a light violet-coloured doublet bordered with broad gold braid—give at once the impression of a princely personage. So do his slim figure, his delicate hand with its long pointed fingers gently stroking the glossy hair of a pretty little well-bred dog, a kind of "King Charles," while the way in which he, as it were involuntarily, grasps his sword with his left hand betrays practice in the use of arms. From the expression of the face we may conclude he had a phlegmatic temperament. Altogether it is just a State portrait, remarkable for its charm of colour and its happily chosen attitude, but showing no keen interest taken by the artist in his model.

The second likeness, the so-called Giorgio Cornaro, must, from the age of the sitter, have been produced much later. Turning with animation to the right, he is trying a falcon which he holds on his left hand. The head is slightly thrown back, the right side, together with the right hand, which is feeling the falcon, is placed in strong light. A neutral grey background, somewhat lighter close round the figure, sets in strong relief the form attired in black. We catch sight of the head of a pointer, just appearing in the left-hand lower corner, gazing up at his master. This portrait is far superior to the earlier one in life and reality;

momentary action, as in a genre-motive, gives the key to the character of the individual. It is highly probable that we have the same person before us as in the Madrid picture, although here a lively temperament gives animation to the features. We are at a loss to explain the remarkable likeness between the man with the falcon and Francesco Maria of Urbino, whom Titian painted later.

From the correspondence carried on between Federico Gonzaga and Titian, as well as between the Prince and his envoys, we can perceive what a number of Titian's pictures belonging to this period have been lost. In 1527 the artist sent home the portraits of Pietro Aretino, who was at that time settled in Venice—he was represented with laurel in his hand — and of Girolamo Adorno, the Emperor's ambassador, who had died four years previously, and had been in close relationship with Federico Gonzaga. In 1530 he was working at a "Madonna with St. Catherine," at the portrait of the Prince mentioned above, and at a picture of "Women Bathing" (see Malatesta's letter of February 5th, 1530).

Soon after this the Duke of Mantua had a commission of his own for Titian. It had been reported to him that Covos, Charles V.'s secretary, had fallen deeply in love with a maiden named Cornelia, who was in the service of the Countess Isabella Pepoli. Wishing to show himself agreeable to the all-powerful secretary, the Duke commissioned Titian and the sculptor Bologna to make likenesses of the lady. So Titian set out from Mantua on July 8th with letters of introduction to the Countess and the Vice-legate. Three days later painter and sculptor met in the house of the Countess, and there learnt that Cornelia had been sent by her mistress to Nuvolara for the sake of her

health. The ladies of the household related to Titian wonderful things about the beauty of the maiden, and described her so minutely that he declared to the Duke he would, without knowing the original, paint her in such a manner that every one who knew her would confess he must have often taken her portrait, and for this purpose he begged that a likeness of her by another artist might be sent to him at Venice. So certain was he of success, that he added: "If the portrait requires alteration in any way I will go to Nuvolara and correct it from the model, but I do not think it will be required." Titian did not repeat the journey, and by September Federico was able to send the picture of Cornelia to Covos.

Half a year later, in March 1531, the Duke learnt that Vittoria Colonna, Marchioness of Pescara, was desirous of possessing a Magdalen from the hand of a first-rate artist. He hastened to write to her that he had commissioned Titian to paint a "fair woman, as tearful as possible." At that moment Titian had a Magdalen on his easel which was much praised by connoisseurs. Nevertheless he began a new picture, and had it ready to send to the Duke in April. Federico expressed in warm words his admiration for the work.

Titian next painted pictures of the Cæsars, eleven in all, for a room in the castle at Mantua. In April 1537, a picture of Augustus arrived as the first of the series; it was followed in October by three others, but the Duke's earnest desire to see the whole decoration of the room completed was not fulfilled till the end of 1538. The twelfth of these portraits of the Cæsars had to be supplied by Giulio Romano, who also painted under each picture some event in their lives. It is difficult to form a correct idea

of the artistic worth of these works from the copies extant or from the inadequate engravings of Aegidius Sadeler. They seem to have aroused such universal admiration that artists of the importance of Agostino Carracci and Bernardino Campi were required repeatedly to copy the whole series for persons of position. To us the attitudes of these half-length figures, all represented in full armour, with laurel wreaths on their heads and batons of command in their hands, seem somewhat stiff and not free from mannerism. Moreover, the best part, Titian's fine colour, is wanting. The loss of these works has deprived us of the opportunity of judging how Titian acquitted himself in a task of decoration like this.

Mention has already been made of two of the Mantua pictures still surviving, Federico's portrait and the "Entombment of Christ." From a short note from Isabella d'Este, Federico Gonzaga's mother, to the envoy, dated March 6, 1534, we learn that the princess was anxious to have returned to her a portrait of herself which she had lent Titian "that he might copy it for her." But it was not till two years later that Titian sent off his own portrait of the princess. Isabella was delighted with it, and wrote to him she doubted if she had been so beautiful at that age. The picture in question (Vienna Gallery) represents Isabella at about the age of twenty, seated in an arm-chair. A rich costume serves to set off her beauty. From under a black velvet dress with a broad border of fur are seen blue sleeves, embroidered in silver and gold; the chemisette is worked with blue and gold, costly jewels sparkle in her shining auburn hair. The original, which the painter had been obliged to copy, was a portrait by the hand of Francia, of which, it must

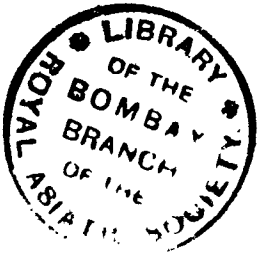
be confessed, Titian's picture shows no trace. He tried in vain to transform it into a good work, and produced himself only a cold *portrait d'apparat*. It was a little weakness on the part of the duchess, when a woman of sixty, to get Titian to copy a picture of herself in her youth; no doubt because she was not contented with the likeness of her features the painter had taken from nature. This portrait, known to us till now through a copy by Rubens (Vienna Gallery), the supposed original of which has recently turned up in England (now in the Goldschmidt collection in Paris), is not very flattering to Isabella. Her face shows the unmistakable signs of old age; her slender proportions have given place to stoutness. She is loaded with jewels, but her dress is simpler and of a deep red, more suited to her age. We may presume that Isabella's features have been faithfully depicted in this likeness, so regardless of courtierlike flattery; at least it corresponds with the satirical portrait which Aretino drew of her about the same time, when he describes her as "insupportably ugly and repulsively touched up"; for Titian's likeness also reveals how artificial means were used to hide the ravages of time.

Among the pictures Titian painted for Mantua mentioned in letters, the "Madonna with St. Catherine" was at one time identified with the "Vierge au lapin" (Louvre), at another with the "Madonna with the youthful St. John and St. Catherine" (National Gallery), which certainly bear a close resemblance to each other both in composition and types. In both of them there is a genre-motive—the bright and youthful Catherine accompanies the Virgin, holds the Child in her arms and caresses Him. In the London picture a curly-headed boy (St. John) is added to

From a carbon-print by Braun, Clément & Co., Dornach, Alsace

THE "VIERGE AU LAPIN"

PARIS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the group and offers flowers to the Virgin. In the replica at the Palazzo Pitti this figure is omitted, which makes the position of the Madonna's hand without meaning. The whole scene gives an impression as of simple people happy in the enjoyment of the beautiful and rich nature around them. The divine element has been superseded by one that is merely human.

The subject is here treated in an entirely different manner from the "Santa Conversazione" of his early Giorgionesque period. From this altered conception of the subject and the harmony in the colouring we recognise how matured is the Master's art. The saintly personages are no longer the main object of the picture, or there for their own sakes. Their enchanting colours gain the desired effect from the rich and carefully modulated green of the landscape that surrounds them, which in its turn, without the glow of the colours in the foreground, would lose in breadth. Here we have meadows where herds are grazing, in the foreground a thick clump of trees giving height to a long narrow picture, while gracefully varied lines lead the eye into the background, and there light and atmosphere make meadows, mountains and sky blend into one another.

We fancy we meet with the St. Catherine of the London picture again in the lovely female figure which is the central object of the picture known as "The Allegory of d'Avalos" in the Louvre. Here are the same roundness of form, the same charming profile, and the same golden hair with its rich plaits entwined with strings of pearls. The group is generally supposed to represent the parting of d'Avalos, Marquis of Vasto, from his young wife, Mary of Aragon, when he was about to set out for

war against the Turks. Amor himself, the Goddess of Victory, and Hymen console the grieving lady, who gazes meditatively into a crystal ball she holds in her hand, the symbol of the transient nature of all things human. Relations between this nephew and heir of the Marquis of Pescara and Titian are known to have existed. On November 2, 1531, he wrote to Aretino: "We want to have Titian here, in Correggio; and if you can do anything to further his coming, I shall be very glad." But whether we may connect this letter with the picture just mentioned is rather doubtful, as the features of the man in armour of the "Allegory" are not those of the Marquis del Vasto.

The importance of the picture as a work of art will in no wise be diminished when we confess we cannot explain its meaning in words, more particularly as, for a composition in colour and for the grouping, it is one of Titian's finest works. The light colours of the lady's dress, a combination of red, green and yellow, enclose her shapely form; beside this mass of strong light the figure of the man in his polished metal breastplate stands out dark; turning to the lady, but gazing out of the picture, he lays his hand on her breast. With them are associated, somewhat incongruously as it appears to us, some allegorical figures—a child who represents the God of Love carrying his bow and arrows; a woman with a wreath round her hair, who lays a hand on her breast with a deprecating gesture; and farther to the back, seen strongly foreshortened, the head of a youth, who is holding up a basket laden with flowers. While brightness pervades the foreground, calls out broad lights on the crystal ball and the breastplate, this last figure remains in a wonderfully rich half-shadow, the head broadly set against a deep

blue sky ; and this marvellous piece of painting is probably the most perfect part of a picture very remarkable as the work of a great colourist.

The "Magdalen" must be considered purely on its pictorial merits (Palazzo Pitti). The charm of this picture rests on two points in the scheme of colour: on the transition from the reddish-golden hair to the splendidly painted flesh, and on the combination of this colour with the deepest blue in the sky. Nothing more beautiful exists in painting than the juxtaposition of these two tones. Only a painter of the highest order could venture on such a conjunction of strong and deep colours and be certain of success. A cascade of golden hair, the lines of which are picked out from the mass of colour, is held firmly in her right hand, winds in gentle undulations round her breast, and sweeps down over arm and body, completely covering the latter. This constant variation of tints, this play of light upon the hair can only be realised by studying the original picture. To a spectator with a feeling for colour it will be a never-failing source of delight to note how Titian leaves the background dark on the right, places on the left a glorious deep blue, and down in one corner a strong point of light—the box of ointment—while up near the edge of the picture he sets a solitary brilliant cloud. Undeniably the weakest part is the Saint's head, somewhat empty of expression. Therefore, whoever, when looking at this picture, recalls to mind the saintly figures of those Masters whose greatest power lies in the presentation of tender emotions—such, for instance, as Perugino's saints with raised ecstatic eyes, whose emotion we can no longer believe in when we see it so often repeated—will be disposed to find fault with Titian's "Magdalen." But

whoever, on the other hand, tries to grasp in a work of art the intention of its creator, will feel how closely, and with a success rarely attained, the desired result has here been achieved, and will admire in the "Magdalen" one of Titian's most sublime creations in colour.

This picture of the Magdalen cannot be identical with the one that Federico Gonzaga gave as a present to the Marchesa di Pescara—neither is the penitent as "tearful as possible," which was what the Duke wished, nor was a picture such as this suitable to be presented to a lady of strict decorum, as was Vittoria Colonna. It is not known what became of that version of the Magdalen, nor of another Gonzaga kept for himself, and which was still in the possession of the house of Mantua in 1627. But the picture in the Palazzo Pitti passed into Florence by inheritance from the house of Urbino.

Francesco Maria della Rovere, Duke of Urbino, had the same hasty and violent temper as his uncle, Julius II. By many a hard fight, after which he was repeatedly driven into exile, he had at last secured for his house the possession of the little state so dangerously placed in the centre of Italy. It was not till his situation was thus made sure that he was able to resume those efforts in favour of art which were traditional at the Court of Urbino, and the artist to whom he gave the preference before all others was Titian.

The Duke's position as General-in-Chief of the Venetian forces took him often during those years to Venice. It was there probably that he first met the painter, whose name he had heard of beforehand at the Court of Mantua;

for through his wife, Leonora, Francesco Maria was brother-in-law to Federico Gonzaga.

Titian's relations with the Court of Urbino lasted for a longer period than with any other Italian princely house. For more than forty years he received commissions from thence, and we may reckon the number of works by his hand which adorned the castles of Pesaro and Urbino to have been at least five and twenty. When Vasari visited the Guardaroba in the Palace of Urbino in 1565 he there saw and admired two lovely female heads, a youthful recumbent Venus, the Magdalen mentioned above, as well as portraits of Charles V., Francis I., Guidobaldo II., the Popes Sixtus IV., Julius II. and Paul III., of the Cardinal of Lorraine and the Turkish Sultan Soliman.

It was in 1532 that Titian received his first commissions from the Duke, who said he wished for a portrait of Hannibal, to be as good a likeness as it was possible to get from descriptions handed down by tradition, also a "Nativity" and a figure of Christ. But at that time Titian was overwhelmed with commissions, so the Duke had to wait in patience, as had also the Signoria of Venice and the Duke of Mantua. Francesco Maria adopts a benevolent, almost friendly tone with the painter. "Dearest friend," he writes one day in 1533, "you know through our envoy how much we wish for the pictures . . . . and the longer we have to wait the more eager is our desire to have them . . . . and so we beg you to satisfy us as soon as possible. Finish at least one of the pictures, that we may rejoice in something by your hand." The Duke would not accept as a consolation that his brother-in-law of Mantua had to be patient also. "Yes," he answered the envoy, "but he has already something by his hand, whereas I possess nothing at all."

There was a short pause after these first pictures had been delivered in 1534. An idea had been mooted for a time in 1536 that Titian should paint a portrait of the Duchess on his journey through to Naples, where he was wishing to go and meet the Emperor, but this projected journey never took place. Shortly afterwards, however, the Duke had an opportunity of again communicating with Titian, and he wrote from Padua (May 2, 1536) to remind his envoy of the bargain, adding that he could think of nothing better for the Duchess than a "Resurrection," as had been ordered, so the painter should direct his thoughts to the subject, also apply himself to the other things, "and we wish him to finish the picture of the woman in the blue dress as beautifully as possible." Once more in July he wrote again briefly on the subject.

In this same year Titian had begun the portraits of the ducal pair. The sonnet that Aretino wrote on the portrait of the Duke was already mentioned in October 1536. But Titian did not hurry himself, and probably made use of Francesco Maria and Leonora's sojourn at Murano in the autumn of 1537 to obtain sittings. Half a year later the portraits were finished. In April 1538 a faithful friend of Leonora's, Giovanmaria della Porta, who represented the interests of Urbino in Rome, wrote: "On my departure from Pesaro, when I was already on horseback, the chamberlain, Giovan Antonio, said to me he had received the new portraits of your Excellencies, so I dismounted and remained standing for awhile contemplating their wonderful resemblance, and scarcely could I abstain from kissing their hands, so lifelike did they seem."

Of the pictures mentioned in this correspondence the greater part have perished. The picture of Christ we

may suppose to be the half-length figure in profile in the Palazzo Pitti, a further development of the earlier type represented by the Saviour of the "Tribute-money." It is difficult to do justice to this work, as the figure especially has been defaced by restoration. We miss in this fine and dignified head that profound inward feeling with which Northern nations picture to themselves the form of Christ. Every critic, however, should ask himself the question whether the task of depicting the outward semblance of Christ, apart from any action and without the effect produced by His words being reflected in the gestures of bystanders, has ever been more successfully accomplished, or, indeed, ever could be. Titian certainly has here given us one of the most beautiful renderings of the form of Christ, to which the broad landscape spread out in calm evening light behind Him contributes not a little.

In all probability the picture of the lady in a blue dress mentioned in the Duke's letter quoted above is the so-called "Bella," one of the most celebrated pictures in the same gallery. If we would make use of a modern artistic phrase to describe the impression produced by this work we should call it a "harmony in blue and gold." Titian simply set himself a problem in colour, not caring that he had a human being before him, the expression of whose face ought to be his main object. The result is that the head, in spite of its purity of form, awakens no enthusiasm. But what colours, what tender shades of pearly-blue and purple-violet relieved by gold embroidery and broken by the white puffings in the sleeves encircle the delicate enamel of the throat, and how the plaits of glossy golden hair form a coronet round the head! And so this picture, in spite of its faults or of the restorations which have

made it a mere shadow of its former splendour, remains an immortal example of what the art of the Renaissance at its zenith regarded as the ideal of female beauty.

Titian shows his deep insight and his highest power as a portrait-painter in the likenesses of the Duke and his wife, produced as companion pictures.

Leonora Gonzaga was at that time forty-three years old. Illnesses and severe trials in life had left ineradicable marks on her countenance. The expression of her head has something resigned about it. She sits quietly in an arm-chair, her eyes fixed on the painter. Her costume is not gorgeous, so she wears most precious jewels. Her hands strike us as remarkably lifeless. To the left of the table lies a little spaniel, his head resting on his right paw. The picture gains depth by the view seen through the window of a charming bit of landscape in delicate greens and blues, giving animation to the background in contrast with the quiet grey surface of the wall.

Leonora's picture served as a companion to the portrait of the Duke. In her is embodied the quiet dignity of the princess, in him the strength and activity of the prince. Being a warrior, Francesco Maria had himself portrayed in full battle array, in his coat of mail with greaves and armlets and iron gauntlets. His left hand lies on his sword; his right, in a fine pose, holds his staff of command resting on his hip. His head, with its short black hair and black beard, rises full of energy from the shining steel, on the hard burnished surface of which the light is broken by subtle reflections. We see the play of the jaw-bones under the tight-drawn skin. The nostrils of his hooked nose seem to dilate. His eyes are looking to the side; how full of life they are! What thoughts of victory

and of conquest are coursing through the iron brow of Francesco Maria? To the left his helmet, adorned with the flying griffin, is resting against the wall; to the right three batons of command, the emblems of his rank as generalissimo against the Turks, are lying on the red velvet which covers the lower portion of the niche where the Duke is standing, and casts its reflections on the polished steel. "Not only strength of body" (the untranslatable '*ardir della carne*') "but also his manly courage are here portrayed in colours," exclaims Aretino, full of admiration. No more perfect delineation of his person could Francesco Maria desire. We recognise in his portrait that fiery temper which more than once drove him to violent deeds, and the indomitable energy which enabled him twice to reconquer the duchy he had lost. Here we have, as it were, an exhaustive presentment of the last of the Condottieri—so may Francesco Maria be called—for we can trace in it the incidents of his life and allusions to the lofty plans that filled his ambitious mind. Thus as he was, at the height of his power, in the very midst of preparations for the war against the Turks, did the murderer strike him; for poison shortly afterwards put an end to his life.

In Francesco Maria's son and successor, Guidobaldo II., Titian found no less kind a patron than the father had been. Prince and painter were already acquainted with each other. When still Duke of Camerino, Guidobaldo had sat to Titian and had purchased from him the picture of a "nude woman." In March 1538 he sent a messenger to Venice with instructions not to leave the city till he

had received the two pictures. And as he had still not got one of the pictures in May he wrote again to the envoy urging him to be on his guard lest it should pass into other hands, "for I am resolved to mortgage a part of my property if I cannot obtain it in any other way."

From these letters it is obvious that the "Venus of Urbino" in the Tribuna of the Uffizi cannot have been painted from the features of the Duchess Leonora, though this has been generally accepted owing to a resemblance in the outline, nor can the "Bella" be taken from her. The likeness between the two women, the "Bella" and the "Venus," now that we know for certain that they were painted one soon after the other, may be explained by the supposition that they were both taken from the same Venetian model. In the seventeenth century, when these two pictures were transferred to Florence, they were both considered to be representations of the same woman. It may be taken as certain that a third picture was also painted from the same model, only at a somewhat younger age. For that reason it may be mentioned here, though, as far as we at present know, it never was in the possession of the Urbino princes. This is the "Girl in a Fur Cloak," in the Gallery at Vienna. Here the mantle, originally red, trimmed with gold braid and bordered with brown fur, is drawn across her naked form and half conceals her youthful breast and rounded arm. Strings of pearls are twisted through the golden hair, pearls encircle her throat and adorn her ears; a rich bracelet is clasped round her wrist. The movement of her right hand seems to indicate that the fair one is about to lay aside her garment. The expression of the face is so naïvely unconscious that the

firm gaze she fastens on the spectator surprises us, and is felt to be a contradiction. The gentle transition from the fur to the brilliancy of the flesh is perfect, so also is the manner in which the contour of the head and figure is relieved against a grey background. The tender modelling of the left arm on the red drapery, which has in the course of years lost its colour, must at one time have formed a special charm of the picture.

When we stand before the "Venus" we should set aside all considerations which have their origin in any other than a pictorial point of view, and begin by acknowledging that it is one of the most beautifully painted pictures in the world. Note how in the subdued light of the room, the woman's form shows above folds of soft white linen drapery and seems to assume deeper tints where the eye catches the dark red colour of the couch. All the surroundings are treated with consummate art; the room with its marble floor and the figures of the handmaids, one of whom is all in white, so that a stronger point of light is introduced into the background and contributes to give a feeling of space in the room. She is searching in a chest, whilst the other, in red, is looking towards her, and with one rich garment already hanging over her shoulder is apparently telling her what to hand out next. A soft blue late afternoon sky sends its light into the room, and the quiet branches of a tree give a sensation of refreshing coolness.

The beautiful woman lies at full length while her right arm supports the weight of her shoulders—one hand is carelessly holding a few flowers. Her light hair rolls loosely down over her shoulder and marks out the lovely line of her cheek. Behind her head is a green curtain

looped up. At her feet lies a little spaniel, white with brown spots.

Giovanni Morelli, to whom we owe the re-discovery of Giorgione's splendid "Venus" in the Dresden Gallery, was the first to draw comparisons between it and Titian's picture. We cannot avoid comparing them when we observe how much use Titian has made of this picture, which he knew line for line, having himself finished it after his friend's death. The pose of his "Venus" is identical with that of the older work. But Giorgione's "Venus" is a goddess. Her unconsciousness, the accidental display of her beauty in tranquil slumber gives to this picture an incomparable charm. Now Titian destroys this charm by letting his beauty turn an inquiring glance to the beholder; and, by suggesting an almost commonplace reason for her undress, as well as by the homely character of the figures in the background, he lets the whole scene drop into a lower sphere. But if we compare the two pictures in their colour expression, the first where the bright form of the woman lies in a quiet evening landscape, the second with the magic of its marvellous interior lighting which gives to the flesh-tints a deep golden glow, we shall acknowledge with pleasure the originality of Titian's "Venus" and its importance as an achievement in art. Giorgione's and Titian's "Venus" pictures show us the perfection of two possible ideals. How inferior Masters tried to accomplish the same task and could arrive at no independent result with such superior examples before them, we can see from the figures of "Venus" by Palma and others.

A short time only had elapsed since the death of Francesco Maria when the new Duke again began to

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PORTRAIT (GIULIA VARANA, DUCHESS OF URBINO?)

PALAZZO PITTI, FLORENCE

bestir himself about Titian's pictures. It was then, in June 1539, that Titian sent him the three portraits, of the Emperor, the French King, and the Turkish ruler, which are among those mentioned by Vasari, but they cannot be traced now.

After this for a number of years nothing appears in the correspondence on the subject of Titian. In November 1546, the Duchess Giulia, Guidobaldo's first wife, writes in a somewhat impatient tone, sending at the same time some sleeves which the painter had wished to have, that she hopes Titian would not delay any longer to finish "our portraits." Letters of Aretino's confirm the supposition that the portraits of the Duke and Duchess here referred to are those which Guidobaldo wished Titian to paint as he had painted his parents. These letters occur in the year 1545, and, according to Aretino's usual custom, contain compliments addressed to the sitters as well as to the painter.

But the Duchess Giulia did not even then get what she wanted. For again, on February 8, 1547, one of her courtiers sends Titian a dress of hers with the remark that a handsomer one would have been sent if he had not wished for one of crimson or pink velvet, but as the Duchess did not possess one of that material, she thought a damask dress of the desired colour would please him best.

Ten days later the Duchess died suddenly. Her husband did not have much time to grieve for her loss; suitable projects of marriage were at once suggested to him, and a year had not passed before Vittoria Farnese, granddaughter of Pope Paul III., entered Urbino as Duchess. We can understand that under these circumstances Titian was no

longer urged to complete and send home the late Duchess's portrait. No further mention is made of it in the letters; it is even doubtful whether a passage in a letter of Guidobaldo's, in February 1552, promising that Titian should have his demands satisfied with regard to the portraits, can be considered to refer to those earlier works.

A few years ago a portrait of a lady was taken out of a store-room in the Palazzo Pitti and now hangs in the State-rooms, and is described to the visitor as the portrait of Catherine of Medici, by Tintoretto. It can, however, with certainty be ascribed to Titian, and we may conclude that it really is that missing portrait of the Duchess Giulia. It is unfinished. The hands are sketched in in outline, but are without glazing, and also the lights which play on the surface of the rose-coloured dress are not yet blended into the local colour. The painting of the head, however, is quite completed. In its arrangement this portrait resembles that of Leonora Gonzaga: we find the same easy sitting posture and the same proportion of the figure to the size of the canvas, and a small bit of landscape. An effect of evening light sheds a deeper tone over the face and masses the details in the landscape into a single impression of colour. All this makes up a picture which for harmonious colouring has few equals even among Titian's works, and as a female portrait may certainly take rank with his best, such as that of the Duchess Leonora and the Empress Isabella. The head is deficient in interest, probably because the artist kept strictly to truth in the likeness, or possibly because he had not seen the Duchess before he sketched in the picture. Nevertheless, he was able from the description given him by her husband to produce such a life-like portrait that,

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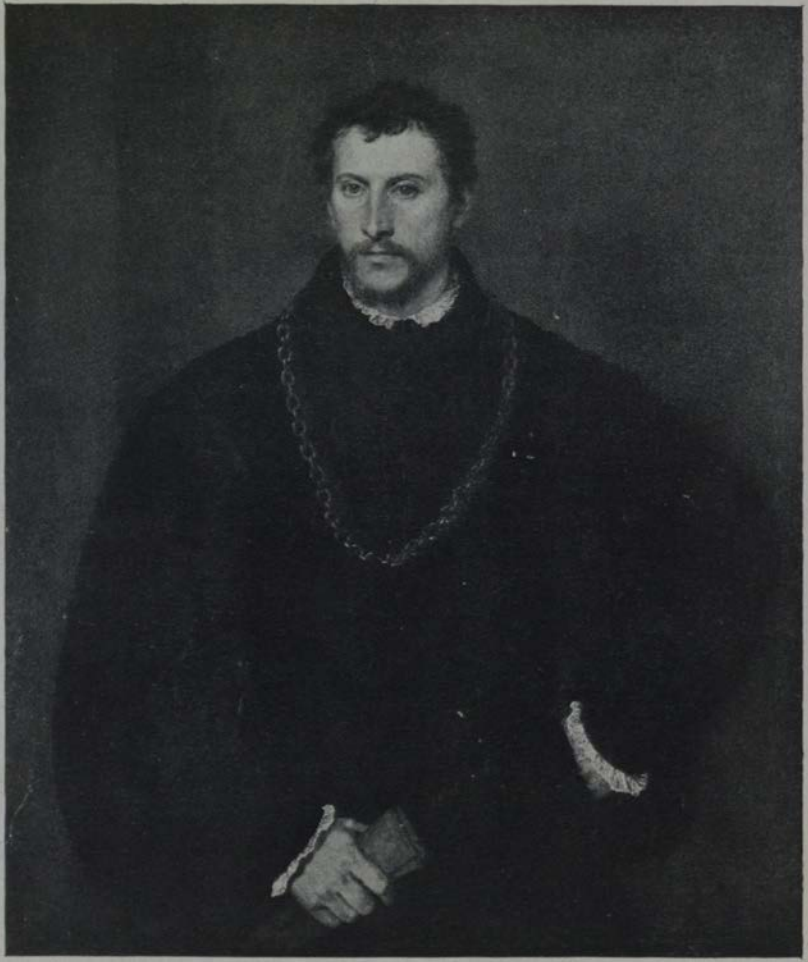
PORTRAIT (DETAIL)

PALAZZO PITTI, FLORENCE



D. Anderson

PORTRAIT. THE SO-CALLED "YOUNG ENGLISHMAN," OR 'DUKE OF NORFOLK"

PALAZZO, PITTI, FLORENCE

according to Aretino, "he painted her as if she had sat to him in person."

We learn from documentary evidence that there were at least two portraits of Guidobaldo by Titian's hand, one painted in 1538, the other in 1545; but they are not to be identified at Florence, though one certainly did exist there in the seventeenth century. We may here venture the supposition, though proofs are still lacking, that the features of the Duke of Urbino have been immortalised in the most splendid portrait ever painted by Titian, the so-called "young Englishman," also known as the "Duke of Norfolk" (Palazzo Pitti). Gazing on these proud lineaments we like to imagine them to be those of the youthful prince who felt himself cramped in his modest little State, who longed to earn his laurels under the banner of the Emperor, and dreamt of the ducal crown of Milan. From his impetuous letters we may still catch a glimpse of his fiery spirit.

It is a half-length figure, in black costume with a broad gold chain hanging over the shoulders. The left hand is resting on his hip, the right, close to the lower edge of the picture, holds his gloves. His form, seen in front view, seems supple, full of strength and activity. The head shows a pair of blue eyes, to which a speck of light in the pupil gives wonderful vivacity; a high forehead overshadowed by short curly brown hair, a scanty beard and moustache, a fine cut nose with sensitive nostrils, a mouth full of expression. For purely artistic merits, observe the position of the figure in the space—its proportion to the size of the canvas, the clever and firm brush-work; all are of the highest quality, yet do not entirely account for the striking effect produced by this portrait. The way in which the soul of the man speaks to us through the eye,

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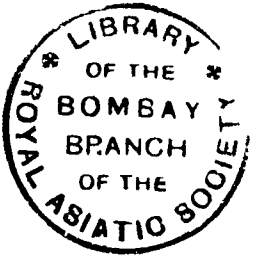
and through the wonderfully expressive hand, makes us recognise at once that here artistic intuition and perfect mastery of means have combined to produce a work of the highest order, for which no adequate words of praise can be found. This portrait justifies Aretino's remark made about another portrait by Titian, that of the Spanish Ambassador, Gonzalo Perez: "Your likeness will annihilate the claims that Death believes it has upon you."

No day was of greater importance in the Master's career than the one when he first met Charles V. He then began a connection which lasted not only as long as the Emperor lived, but was continued later by his successor, till Titian's death brought it to its natural termination.

At their first meeting, however, which must have taken place at Bologna in one of the first three months of the year 1530, the Emperor showed himself grudgingly disposed towards the artist, whose qualities he at that time was probably not in a position to appreciate. The Mantuan envoy complained publicly in the Senate at Venice about this want of liberality, and adduced as an instance that his master the Duke had introduced Titian to the Emperor's notice in order that he might paint a portrait, and for this picture the monarch had only presented him with a single ducat, so that his highness the Duke had been obliged to supplement it with a hundred and fifty ducats.

This was the only time that Titian had cause to complain that the Emperor was lacking in generosity. Two years later Charles V., on his way to Bologna, paid a visit to Federico Gonzaga, at Mantua, on November 6, 1532. A few days earlier (October 29) the latter had written to Titian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CHARLES V

PRADO, MADRID

asking him to procure for him a painter clever in scene painting to help him mount a play which he was preparing in honour of his imperial guest. Two days later, on November 8, he sent Titian an urgent note begging him to come as quickly as possible: "You will do me the greatest favour." We do not know if Titian complied with his patron's desire. At the beginning of 1533, however, we find him again at Bologna on a friendly footing with the Emperor and the great men round him. Charles V. had seen in the palace at Mantua Titian's portrait of Federico Gonzaga. It was this that had made him wish to have himself painted by the hand of the Master. This was the origin of Titian's journey to Bologna.

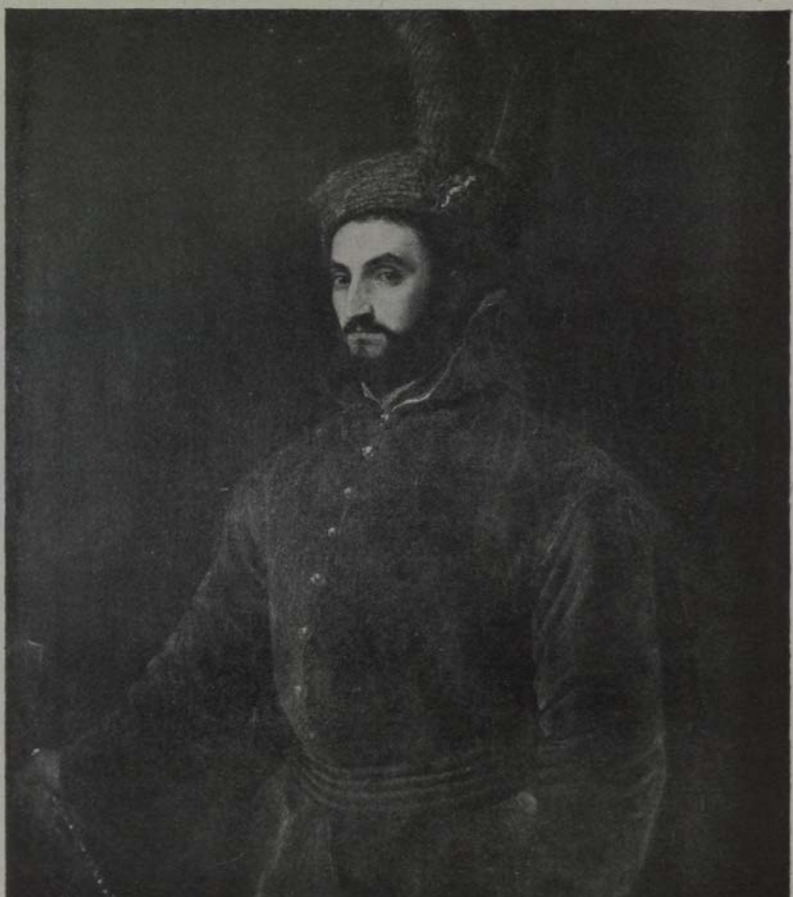
Charles V. now sat to Titian for a portrait in which he was depicted in full armour. On his return to Spain in 1556 he took it back with him, and there it perished. There still exists, belonging to this period, the beautiful portrait of the Emperor, full length, placed in front of a dark green curtain (Prado). The costume is elegant: a close-fitting, richly embroidered doublet with slashed white sleeves, white breeches, shoes and stockings, a short cloak of white brocade, standing off stiffly from the figure, with a broad dark fur collar, a black cap with a white feather. On the breast hang the chain and Order of the Golden Fleece. The head is turned to the left, so are the eyes, with their somewhat tired expression. Both hands are full of character: the right clutches a dagger, the left holds by the collar a handsome, powerful dog, a kind of mastiff, who lays his fine head against his master. The artist has made no attempt to beautify the natural ugliness of the Emperor, his bad complexion, his mouth always slightly open with a projecting under-lip; but he

has brought out the commanding personality of the ruler in a way which no other of the Masters have done who have portrayed the features of Charles V.

There is an anecdote related by Vasari which applies to the sittings the Emperor then gave to the painter; how the sculptor, Alfonso Lombardi, induced Titian to smuggle him in as his assistant, and then, while Titian was working at the portrait, secretly modelled a little sketch of the Emperor in clay. The work pleased the Emperor so much that he gave Alfonso the commission to execute it in marble. Indeed, our informant adds that when the Emperor sent Titian a thousand scudi as a present, he desired him to hand on the half of it to the sculptor.

Charles quitted Bologna obviously pleased with the work of the two artists, painter and sculptor. "Shortly before the departure of his Majesty," writes a correspondent to the Duke of Mantua on February 28, 1533, "the sculptor, M. Alfonso, and M. Titian appeared before him, to whom he ordered to be paid 500 scudi, and then, as he was departing, he embraced them before every one."

Not only had Titian entered into friendly relations with the Emperor, but he had also managed to win the favour of the generals and councillors who surrounded him. It is probable he may have painted some of them at that time; at least, he assured the envoy of Ferrara that he was so very busy he had no time to eat. Only one portrait besides that of the Emperor has been preserved, belonging to the time of his visit to Bologna, and even it, which is possible, may not have been produced there, but just before at Venice. In the Palazzo Pitti at Florence hangs the half-length



D. Anderson

CARDINAL IPPOLITO DE' MEDICI

PALAZZO PITTI, FLORENCE

portrait of a man. He is turning slightly to the left, has his staff of command in his right hand, and clasps his sword with his left. The dark tint of the face, encircled by a thick beard, harmonises particularly well with the dull reddish-brown of the close-fitting coat, and a cap with lofty plumes fantastically crowns the head. In this form, full of vigour and courage, nobody would suspect a portrait of a Prince of the Church. It is Cardinal Ippolito, the last representative but one of the elder branch of the House of Medici, son of that Giuliano, "il Pensieroso," whom Michelangelo has immortalised in his monument in Florence. Ippolito was at that time twenty-one, and was returning from an expedition which Pope Clement VII., his near relation, had despatched against the Turks. No military glory did Ippolito de' Medici bring home with him, but only the costume of a Hungarian magnate, in which Titian has portrayed him. Another smaller picture by Titian represented him in armour; it has been lost. Three years after the production of this brilliant portrait, Ippolito de' Medici died at Gaeta of poison, which his cousin Alessandro bribed his cup-bearer to administer.

Charles V., though at a distance, did not forget the artist, whom no doubt, even at that time, he intended to employ often in his service. Soon after his return to Spain he sent Titian a special mark of his favour. The patent given at Barcelona is dated May 13, 1533, by which he created Titian "Count of the Lateran Palace, of our Court and of the Imperial Consistory"; bestowed on him the title of Count Palatine, with the privilege of appointing notaries, of legitimising illegitimate children, and so on, and raised him to the rank of a Knight of the Golden Spur, whose symbols—the sword, the chain, and the spurs

—he had the right to wear. His children and descendants were also ennobled, and would enjoy the same rights and privileges as those who could look back to four generations of noble ancestors. More even than this honour itself does the reason given for it show what regard the Emperor had for Titian. "Your gifts as an artist and your genius for painting persons from life appear to us so great that you deserve to be called the Apelles of this age. Following the example of our forerunners, Alexander the Great and Octavianus Augustus, of whom one would only be painted by Apelles, the other only by the first Masters, we have had ourselves painted by you, and have so well proved your skill and success that it seemed good to us to distinguish you with imperial honours as a mark of our opinion of you, and as a record of the same for posterity."

Never had such an honour fallen to an Italian artist since Frederick III. bestowed on Gentile Bellini the dignity of Comes Palatinus in 1469. And here we should remember the words of the Emperor, which, if they really were spoken, honour him no less than the artist, and, in any case, are valuable as showing the idea that existed of the relations between Charles V. and Titian. One day when, during a sitting, Titian let fall his brush, the Emperor stooped and picked it up. To his courtiers who wondered at this he said that Titian was worthy of being served by an Emperor. And we may mention here another answer he gave to those who expressed wonder at the grant of a title of Count Palatine to an artist: that he could create many counts but not one Titian.

About eighteen months after their meeting at Bologna the Emperor made an attempt to attract him to Spain.

The Empress also, probably much impressed by the portrait of her husband, eagerly desired to see the painter at Court and to have herself and Prince Philip painted by him. Titian made excuses to Lopes de Soria, the Imperial envoy in Venice, saying he could not leave home till his brother had returned from Vienna, whither he had gone about a privilege on timber. Thereupon the Ambassador tried, by appealing to King Ferdinand, to hasten as much as possible Francesco Vecellio's business. At last Francesco returned to Venice in the first days of November 1534, and then the painter seemed deprived of all pretexts, and in fact made up his mind to undertake the journey to Spain. The Ambassador went so far as to promise King Ferdinand portraits of the Emperor, the Empress, and the Infante. As to what after all caused the plan to fall through authorities are quite silent. It is certain that Titian remained in Venice, and was obliged in the end to paint the Empress's portrait from one by another artist.

The second time Charles V. and Titian met was when the Emperor was passing from south to north through Italy on his return from his African expedition. At the beginning of May 1536 the painter left Venice and joined the Duke of Mantua, who was on his way to meet the Emperor. They met Charles at Asti. Titian, in a short letter to Aretino, dated May 31, gives a clear idea of the warlike life which then surrounded him. "I have kissed the hand of Don Alvise Davila, and I should have done likewise to Don Antonio da Leva but there was no time, for he was here only half a day with the Emperor, and such a number of noblemen were present that I could not kiss his hand. Here we have nothing but beating of drums. All are arming with eagerness against France. I

hope shortly to be with you. Bas las manos a vuestra merced." Spanish ceremonial, as well as language, we observe, were no longer strange to Titian.

Unfortunately of this meeting nothing has been handed down but the historical fact. We do not know which portraits were then painted, for there is no doubt it can only have been a question of portraits. And of later meetings between Titian and his Imperial master, which took place in Italy, at Milan, in 1541, and Busseto in 1543, only vague accounts have come down to us. It was not till they met on German soil, at Augsburg, that the relations between them became of the closest, and were made for ever memorable by the masterpieces Titian then created.

CHAPTER VI

WORK IN VENICE ABOUT 1540

It causes us no small surprise that Titian, in spite of the calls made upon his powers by princely patrons, should have found time in his own home for works which, for the most part, were of large dimensions. One of them, the votive picture of Doge Gritti, which was put up in the Sala del Collegio of the Palace in 1531, can now only be reconstructed from the short description of it given by Sanuto. Andrea Gritti was represented kneeling before the Madonna and being presented to her by St. Mark; this group was on the right side. On the left were the Saints Bernardino, Alvise, and Marina, whose presence the Venetians wittily accounted for by certain events in the life of the Doge. This picture, which is praised for its beauty by Sanuto, must have been lost in the conflagration of the year 1574.

Two years after this, in 1533, a picture of the patron saint was exposed to view on the high altar of the lately finished church of San Giovanni Elemosinario. His figure is placed high in the canvas, raised by several steps, and towers to an enormous height, against a background of sky crossed by fine clouds. The Bishop, with a boy at his side bearing a cross, kept entirely in shadow, is interrupted while reading the Bible by a cripple, who has crept

up to him covered with rags and begging for alms. Titian has taken the moment when the old man is turning to hand the beggar his gift. The gentle, bending attitude of the Bishop and the hopeful upward gaze of the beggar seem to unite the two figures more than the contrast of their outward appearance divides them. With remarkable artistic audacity, Titian has brought the broad white surface of the Bishop's robe into the centre of the picture, treated with great freedom in play of light and shade, and has surrounded it by a brownish-red in the under robe and collar. The few colours employed are blended in splendid harmony with the deep blue of the sky, and so much grandeur is given to the picture by composition in colour and outline that it never fails to make a strong impression hanging, as it does, over the high altar of a fairly large church.

The rulers of Venice looked on year after year with patience while Titian worked on behalf of foreign princes and private individuals at home; one work after another left his studio, and still the Master seemed entirely to forget the great picture which he had offered to execute as early as the year 1513—the battle scene for the hall of Great Council. At last the moment arrived when the patience of the Signoria was exhausted. On June 23, 1537, the following resolution was passed in the Senate, that whereas Titian had been for twenty years in possession of a "senseria," which was granted him on condition that he should paint a land fight to correspond with the sea-fight by Gentile Bellini in the same hall "on the side towards the Piazza over the Grand Canal," it was but right that as he had not executed the work he should not enjoy the privilege. "Therefore Titian shall be required to refund

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ST. JOHN THE ALMSGIVER

VENICE, SAN GIVOANNI ELEMOSINARIO

to the Signoria the whole sum of money which he has drawn from his broker's patent all the time that he has not been painting the aforesaid picture."

This energetic menace had the desired effect, for Titian set to work in earnest to finish the picture. He was occupied at it in November 1537, as we learn from a letter of Aretino's, and under date of August 10 in the following year the Mantuan envoy wrote to Federico Gonzaga that now Titian had finished the battle-piece in the Council Hall he would devote himself to the Cæsar portraits.

According to historical sequence the work ought to have depicted the capture of Spoleto by Frederick Barbarossa. The documents call it simply "the Battle" or "the Battle on Land."

How could Titian grapple with work of this kind? Hitherto the only large compositions he had executed were pictures of saints or of mythological subjects, when he imagined beautiful forms and by his genius called them into being. Now he had to represent an event in real life, and one which he had not seen himself. Was it therefore, strange, especially if we think of the poetic licence all artists allowed themselves, that Titian should have put into his picture what had been vividly brought before him at least by description? In the valley of the Piave, opposite Cadore, a battle had taken place on March 2, 1508, in which the Venetian general, Bartolomeo d'Alviano, had routed the Imperial troops. No doubt Titian was well able to gain information on details of the battle, owing to his close connection with his native place, where his father and many of his relatives still lived. Was any subject more likely to appeal to him than the struggle between the two armies in the midst of that splendid mountain

scenery with which he was intimately acquainted, especially at a time when high dramatic power was continually growing stronger within him?

We can quite well explain from Titian's own feeling how it happened that it was really the "Battle of Cadore," as the picture is plainly called in all subsequent literature, which he painted for the hall of Great Council. It may be that the Doge Andrea Gritti, with his French sympathies, could not deny himself the pleasure of scoffing at the Imperial power, *mutato nomine*, and that in a public place; but this surmise is unnecessary. We note in passing that when the pictorial decoration of the hall was renewed, the "Battle of Cadore" was represented in a ceiling picture by Francesco Bassano, and plainly given that name in the inscription.

Titian's historical picture was destroyed in the fatal fire at the Doge's palace in the year 1577, and we have to gather what it must have been from an engraving of Fontana's, and from a small copy, which, however, only gives the main portion of the composition (Uffizi).

The scenery of the country determines definitely the arrangement of the picture; to right and left are the steep rocky banks, in the centre the deep bed of the river. It was a clever artifice of the Master to place in the centre of such varied movement the quiet arched line of the bridge spanning the river. It divides the masses of figures, groups them, and gives a feeling of tranquillity to the composition which it requires for us to take it in as a whole.

On the right bank a troop of horsemen, their lances high in air, and in their midst the banner adorned with three lions, ride towards the bridge, and therefore go away from the spectator; on the other side is a surging mass engaged

THE BATTLE OF CADORE (FROM THE ENGRAVING BY GIULIO FONTANA)

in deadly combat. A few horsemen rush galloping down the bridge, and round the standard with the double eagle a terrible hand-to-hand fight is going on. The Venetians have got the better of the Imperialists and drive them towards a steep precipice. A few are still resisting with their lances, others drop down among the corpses. One is drawn with great boldness in a momentary action, brandishing a short sword and falling down backwards. The combatants try to struggle out of the river and to climb up the cliffs; we catch sight of a girl near the foreground, who gazes around her in terror as she seeks to escape. She probably owes her presence there to the fancy of the painter.

On the right, in the near foreground, divided from the great mass of troops, is the position selected for the commanding officer. The artist has isolated him still further from the rest of the composition by showing his figure only at half-length, and so near to the spectator that we seem to be viewing the battle from the same spot as the general. D'Alviano, bare-headed, is letting his page buckle on his armour. His right arm is stretched out and rests on his staff. On the edge of the river-bank, somewhat behind him, a cannon has been driven up, and further back a soldier is leading his white charger, whose flanks shone, so Ridolfi expresses it, like white silk.

If we look at the vast amount of movement in this composition, the impression it produces of masses all mingled together, we cannot fail to admire the art of the painter who could bring out this effect with so small a number of figures. For, in fact, only about forty figures can be distinguished in the picture, whilst the mass of the army is represented in the far distance, in the act of

marching, under the striped red and white banner of d'Alviano. The clever use made of tall lances, of spears and swords, gives the appearance of a much greater number. The flashing armour of the Venetian horsemen, the coats of mail of antique fashion of the Imperial soldiers, the mingled crowd of men and horses, from the midst of which a single colour here and there shone out, the bright colours in the two banners predominating, combined to produce a pictorial whole which must have been most striking.

We cannot imagine the surrounding landscape grand enough. Mountains fill the background, their summits rise to heaven, groups of trees break here and there the masses of brownish rock. To the left on the height is the town of Cadore in flames; a blast of wind drives the clouds of smoke down the valley and blends them with the angry-looking sky. A frightful storm is going on, with thunder and lightning. The raging of the elements mingles with the struggle between the two armies. We can still perceive, even from the copies, what passion there was in the composition, and how strong was the sympathy Titian must have felt with his subject, filling the whole as well as the details with so much life. It is an irreparable loss to art that this, the most important dramatic composition of the Master, should have perished. In order to form any idea of what it must have been, we shall have to examine two certainly very different pictures, one of which was produced either somewhat earlier or contemporary with it, the other only a few years later, the "Presentation of the Virgin Mary in the Temple" (Academy, Venice), and the "Ecce Homo" in the Vienna Gallery.

For the "Presentation of the Virgin Mary in the Temple" a special scheme of composition had been accepted in Venice, to be traced back to no less a person than Jacopo Bellini (the Sketch-book in London), and repeated in Carpaccio's picture in the Brera and Cima's in Dresden. On a broad flight of steps, seen from the side and almost filling the foreground of the picture, the little Virgin Mary ascends alone, her parents having stopped at the foot of the steps. At the top the high priest awaits her.

For the main points Titian adhered to the received tradition when he painted, between 1534 and 1538, his celebrated picture for the Sala dell' albergo of the Scuola della Carità in Venice, one of the six Scuole Grandi of the town, now used for the Academy. It is a small room, with a finely-carved ceiling, painted in blue and gold. All round are dark coloured benches. The wall for which Titian's colossal picture was destined (it measures about twenty-six feet long by eleven and a half high), and where it is now again to be seen, is pierced by two doors, the tops of which cut into the canvas. The light falls from the left into the room. With these conditions the artist had to reckon.

Titian transports the scene into a street of palaces. To the left rises a lofty porticoed building; beside it, rather further back, a pyramid; on the right the eye is led into the background along a line of palaces, the windows filled with spectators. In the street is gathered a thick mass of the crowd, who never fail to appear when any special incident awakens attention; they press together to the foot of the stairs which lead by many steps up to the Temple. The little Virgin stands alone, in contrast with

the throng of figures and the huge buildings. She has just passed the middle landing and sets her foot on the next step, holding up her left hand and grasping her light-blue dress in her right, her face full of joy. As she stands there, lighted up by golden rays, she is the first to attract the eye of the spectator.

The aged high priest advances to meet her, led by a priest and a choir-boy, and raises his hands in blessing.

Out of the crowd of people the foremost group appeals first to the eye by its colour. Here yellow predominates in the most varied gradations: in the dress of the dignified-looking woman who stands erect and watches the little Mary ascending; in the mantle of the old man who turns round eagerly to his neighbour, represented walking and with her back turned; and in other figures more into the background. Serving, as it were, for a foil to it is a full-red, such as Paris Bordone loves for women, in the robe of the girl in front on the stairs, who is speaking over her shoulder to the one standing next her and pointing at the same time forwards to Mary.

The balance is kept with the light centre by a group of four men on the left side of the foreground, evidently portraits—the names of the two first have been preserved by tradition; they are dressed in black, all except the first, whose red garment stands out strongly and makes this figure one of the most noticeable in the picture.

Round these principal figures are grouped a large number of spectators, who fill the background, a sea of heads—old men and children, old and young women—every individual character most cleverly suggested, full of life and movement, apparently of secondary importance and yet indispensable. Observe the two who stand nearest to the steps,

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THE PRESENTATION

VENICE

an old man and a little girl in a bright green frock, both leaning on the flight of steps and following every movement of the Virgin with their eyes; also the group on the left under the portico and in its shadow, a woman dressed in grey with a child on her arm, to whom a man of rank is giving alms—probably a reference to the name and object of the Scuola. Lastly, the old woman who offers eggs and poultry for sale, the only figure on the near side of the steps, serving, therefore, in the composition to break, by its colour, the grey-brown surface of the steps, and by the white cloth which covers the head and shoulders to bring a strong light into the foreground. We notice a similar figure in the picture by Cima, mentioned above.

The great expanse of quiet colour in the architecture draws together the groups of bright and somewhat clashing colours, and in a certain sense neutralises them. The landscape too is of importance in the general pictorial effect, the groups of trees and the brownish rocks, the lonely blue mountain tops, and the white cloud floating over them which serves not a little to give depth to the picture. Every detail is made of use in the general harmony of colour, showing a tremendous advance even in Titian's own work, and for Italian painting a height never attained to by any one else.

For bold treatment of figures in violent action and for charm of colour we may compare with the "Battle of Cadore" and the "Presentation of Mary in the Temple," that picture of the "Ecce Homo," which Titian finished in the year 1543 for Giovanni d'Anna, a Dutch merchant settled in Venice, whom Vasari calls "Titian's *compare*" (gossip). At the top of the stairs leading to the palace, Christ is standing, bared to the waist, an exhausted and powerless

sufferer. He is being shown to the populace by Pilate, whose face, betraying a ghastly mixture of haughtiness and cynicism, is obviously taken from Pietro Aretino. And as he questions the crowd who have assembled at the foot of the steps, a throng of warriors, in the middle of whom is a young girl with her arm round a boy whom she draws towards her, in front a fat Pharisee, on the right a few horsemen, each figure with its strongly marked type, the answer is thundered back to him "Crucify Him!" They press half up the steps, they gesticulate and point at the Saviour, they fling up their arms. We seem really to see this crowd of people with all their lower instincts let loose.

Is it to be wondered at that this theme, treated with passionate feeling by this artist at this period of his career, should, more than once, have called forth criticism? If Titian no longer presents Christ as a noble dignified man, as in the "Tribute Money," but here when He is humiliated, shows Him in the depths of His humiliation, and calculates for the effect of his picture on the contrast between this lonely, naked, broken-down man and the crowd who are howling, raging, and crying out to take His life, this illustrates once more how his art has changed its character and how it has matured on the dramatic side. His conception is justified by the terrible fury pervading the work and by the pulsation of life with which he filled his figures.

Again we must take his colour into consideration as a principal factor in the composition. We can give no idea in words of how it is that the management of colour makes this mass of people seem surging to and fro, a throng of flashing weapons and strong tints, amongst

which a full red frequently recurs; note the wonderful effect of the yellow banner against a deep blue sky. Almost in the centre of the composition stands the lovely form of the light-haired girl in a soft white dress, the only restful spot among all these figures in movement, and the strongest point of light in the whole picture—a triumph of the most refined artistic calculation. Even now we are conscious that Titian painted this figure as if he loved it; it reminds us of his daughter Lavinia. This happy pictorial effect may be compared with that produced under somewhat similar conditions by Rembrandt in the "Night Watch."

Here we must refer also to another composition of Titian's reproduced in a masterly woodcut by Domenico dalle Greche in 1549. The "Overthrow of Pharaoh in the Red Sea" gave Titian an opportunity for the finest representation of the sea which Renaissance Art has bequeathed to us. He seems to have overcome with ease the difficulty of depicting such a large surface of water, with its violent movement gradually subsiding as it recedes towards the horizon. To paint nature is here almost his first object; the historical event that gave occasion for it is relegated to a second place. The army of horsemen struggling with the waves and the rescued fugitives on the shore occupy a comparatively small space in the economy of the whole. And yet the artist finds sufficient opportunity for displaying his power of delineating character.

Two other pictures, the "Annunciation" (Scuola di San Rocco) and "Tobias and the Archangel" (San Marziale), exhibit similar artistic tendencies, especially in colour, to the "Presentation of Mary in the Temple." The "Annunciation"

was left as a legacy to the Scuola in 1555 by the lawyer Aurelio Cortona, and has hung for several centuries high up at the top of the staircase leading to the great hall, celebrated throughout the world for Tintoretto's pictures. The Virgin Mary, almost entirely hidden by her dark blue mantle, is kneeling at her faldstool when she receives the message of Gabriel, who with a gentle movement comes towards her floating on clouds, his deep red garment flutters behind him, and his white cloak bulging out like a sail in the wind discloses his right arm and shoulder. A bright ray of sunlight shoots down from the dove and breaks through the gloomy clouds hovering over the storm-swept landscape, where a faint glow of evening red still tips the groups of trees in the distance. This is seen from the loggia supported on pillars—a stately stage for the scene of the Annunciation.

This composition became in Venice the model for the treatment of this subject, and may compensate us for the loss of that other "Annunciation" painted by Titian for the nuns of Santa Maria degli Angeli, in Murano; but which, as he could not come to terms with them, he gave as a present to Charles V.'s consort on the advice of Aretino. In its place the nuns commissioned Pordenone to paint for them the picture still to be seen in the quiet church at Murano. Titian's composition has been preserved for us by Caraglio's engraving, and by the glowing description to be found in a letter from Aretino of November 9, 1537. Here the figure of the angel was much admired, shedding light around him, while the wind played with his yellow garment; so was the Virgin, full of reverence; and the boy-angels on brilliantly white clouds, two of whom bear the Emperor's device; lastly, a splendid landscape in evening

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THE ANNUNCIATION

SCUOLA DI SAN ROCCA, VENICE

tones spanned by a rainbow, "just what one sees towards evening after rain."

In "Tobias and the Archangel," which has more than one point of contact with the "Annunciation" in San Rocco, the two figures are both put into the right half of the picture. They have advanced quite to the front walking briskly; their attention is directed to the vase which Raphael carries—how intently the boy's eye is fixed upon it! As he steps along, the left leg of the Archangel is bared, his right arm is stretched out from his body, the left, which is not visible, seems to be placed round Tobias to protect him. A little dog, very badly painted if we think of the great animal painters of the succeeding century, runs in front and leads the way. The left half of the picture is filled by the entrance to a wood, in the shadow of which a kneeling man's figure (the Baptist?) is to be seen. This dark mass of trees serves to bring out the two figures strongly to the front.

Between the years 1542 and 1547 were produced for the brotherhood of the Corpus Domini at Urbino two pictures, the "Resurrection" and the "Last Supper," which still remain to the town. We cannot say that they belong to Titian's most important works. In the "Resurrection" he adopted in its general outline the composition produced for Brescia twenty years before; but instead of the Saviour soaring upwards full of power, we here have a figure standing calmly and not soaring. The "Last Supper" was here treated by Titian for the first time, and he managed to obtain some essentially interesting effects, and this in a subject that offers the greatest difficulties in composition, and in fact has never but once been worthily rendered.

Here we must not omit one of Titian's rare historic pictures, the "Allocution of the Marchese del Vasto" (in the Prado). The commission for this picture was given to the painter when he was staying in Milan in the beginning of January 1540, in order to make interest for his son with D'Avalos, the Imperial governor. By November 20 of the same year Aretino was able to send the purchaser a detailed description of the picture, and a month later we hear that a sketch of the composition was sent to Milan. Still, the picture was not finished until well on into the following year. Possibly Titian brought the work in person to the Marchese, when he came to Milan in August 1541 to meet the Imperial Court.

Only the ruins of this picture remain to us; enough for us to take in the composition, but not enough to recognise in it Titian's artistic qualities, which probably brought the picture up to the same level with his Vienna "Ecce Homo." It was rescued in the great fires at the Escurial in 1671, and at the Alcazar in Madrid in 1734, but not without undergoing considerable damage. The Marchese del Vasto stands raised on a pedestal, and is haranguing his soldiers "in form and spirit resembling Cæsar." The brightness of the general's armour dazzled the beholder. "Numerous soldiers armed in various fashions are standing quietly, and only turn their eyes away from the majesty which sits upon thy golden brow to regard Francesco Ferrante (the Marchese's young son), who appears like Phœbus at the side of Mars. The boy holds the helmet while the wind is playing with the plumes." In some such words, adorned with many flourishes, Aretino describes his impression of the picture. From another source we also learn that amongst the figures Aretino himself was

portrayed. Even now it strikes us as wonderful how Titian again, without much expenditure of effort, is able to give the idea of a great concourse of people, especially by the clever use of lances held aloft.

It was also about the beginning of the forties that he received commissions for a great number of pictures from the brothers of Santo Spirito, who possessed the masterpiece of his early life, the "San Marco Enthroned." One altar-piece represented the "Descent of the Holy Spirit," but having been damaged had to be restored later by the Master. The picture on the same subject, which is now admired in the Church of the Salute, belongs to another period in Titian's activity, and will therefore be mentioned in another place. The rest of the pictures destined for the adornment of ceilings we shall likewise have to look for in the Church of the Salute, whither the whole collection of art treasures from Santo Spirito was transported in the seventeenth century. Eight smaller medallions placed in the choir of the church at a height at which the eye can no longer distinguish details represent the Evangelists and the Fathers of the Church, heads full of life and passion, the effect of them increased by brilliant colouring. In one of them, Matthew, with a flowing beard, Titian's features may easily be recognised.

From the choir we pass into the sacristy, and there above the altar the Master's earlier work attracts the eye, and we find let into the ceiling three creations of this period (about 1543–1544): "Cain and Abel," "Abraham and Isaac," "David and Goliath." We shall easily perceive the connection between these subjects; all are scenes fitted to display passionate movement, and in each there are only a few—two or three—figures. Talent and

temperament alike urged the artist to choose these themes; his artistic insight prompted him to limit the number of the figures for the sake of simplicity of design—unless, indeed, his patrons had themselves suggested the subjects. The surroundings are almost the same in all three pictures—brown soil, rocky cliffs; we feel ourselves transported to mountain heights; above and behind the figures the sky is gloomy and heavy with clouds. From this background stand out in strong relief the colossal human forms, brownish-yellow in colour. Here we see a falling man still trying to defend himself feebly with one arm; over him about to renew the blow is Cain, with his foot on his victim. There we see the tall, erect form of Abraham in twofold action—his left-hand rests on the neck of the boy who is kneeling on the pile of wood, his right hand brandishes the sacrificial knife, and at the same time he turns right round to the angel who has stayed his movement. Right across the whole of the third picture lies aslant the body of the giant; over him stands the boy David, who raises his arms in gratitude to Heaven; a ray of sunshine breaks through the heavy clouds.

For grandeur of conception Titian here—if anywhere—approaches Michelangelo. These human beings, with their great strength of muscle and their heroic action, are called into existence by his power as a draughtsman; but the scheme of colour is peculiar to himself; we notice how the predominating sombre tint puts together the strong local colours, and how the composition in colour contributes not less than the composition in line to produce a solid effect of powerful life. The richest in tragic interest of the three works is carried out in a very dark key, so that the brownish forms appear as

the lighter parts, but the "Sacrifice of Isaac"—the Divine reward of unquestioning faith—is brightened by changeful lights, which shine on the edges of the clouds and blend together the central point—Abraham's robe, of deep orange colour—with the reddish-violet to the right and the grey-blue in the left-hand corner. In the composition commemorating David's victory, the outstretched body of Goliath supplies the strongest mass of colour; the light from above seems almost solid as it touches the boy's upraised arms.

The impression created in Venice by these works seems to have been deep and lasting, perhaps the greatest since the appearance of the "Peter Martyr"; for here Titian had attempted something new and strange to the art of his home—compositions arranged with a view to being seen from below. We must not, however, suppose them to be like the audacious effects that great ceiling painters, since the seventeenth century, have accomplished apparently with perfect ease, nor yet like those violent foreshortenings which crumple up the human form into a shapeless mass, with arms and legs protruding, and which drew on Correggio's work that well-known and not entirely undeserved title of a "ragout of frogs." Titian does not give the view full from below; he supposes the spectator still to stand in front of the picture, but so below it that he is obliged to stretch up his head to see to such height. This is no detriment to the strong effect of his works.

There are musical creations of the greatest composers in which one passionate emotion prevails from beginning to end. It trembles in every tone. To these we may best compare these three pictures by Titian.

While Titian was delaying so long over the completion of his battle picture for the Doge's palace, those who were jealous of him made use of this circumstance to disparage him by maintaining that it was only as a portrait painter he deserved the first place—this much at least envy had to allow him, so high did his achievement in this branch of art stand in the public favour. Just at that time, in the ten years between 1535 and 1545, the artist seems again to have been much occupied with portraits. We can make out a long list of losses in portraits of this period from numerous letters containing references to them. Amongst them that of the Turkish Sultan, from a medal (1538), of the Cardinal of Lorraine (1539), of Pietro Bembo, who had already once before sat to Titian in earlier years (1540), of the Spanish Ambassador Mendozza, a full-length (1540), of young Daniele Barbaro (1545), and very many more. The portrait of Marc' Antonio Morosini was painted with special care; Aretino congratulates him in a a long letter, saying Titian had spent so much time on it that, with his usual breadth of execution, he might have painted twenty other heads in the same period.

In the portraits of this time still extant we may observe how a genius for colour and a real delight in it help the artist to express his penetrating grasp of character. The portrait of Francis I., in the Louvre, shows the cunning face of the King, with its strongly-marked features, in profile, framed by the black cap bordered with feathers, the shimmering red satin and the dark fur; here and there the bright white of the under linen shines out. Is this the portrait that Aretino, in December 1539, gave as a present to the King, and for which the architect, Sebastiano Serlio, had designed an ornamental frame? Still broader,

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PIETRO ARETINO

PALAZZO CHIGI, ROME

perhaps, and more perfect in its masterly technique, is the portrait of Pietro Aretino himself, now in the Palazzo Pitti, presented by him in October 1545 to Cosimo I. de' Medici. The powerful head and flowing beard, here and there touched with grey, stand out grandly from the varying play of red with which Titian has treated the robe, so full of dignity in its arrangement. A velvet mantle, with broad facings of shining satin, held together by the left hand covered in a glove, is open over the chest and discloses the coat and the golden chain of knighthood. The Master's brush glides as in play over the surface, puts in the lights here and there in strong masses, and works up the red into a wonderfully rich effect of colour. We cannot understand why Aretino, in a letter to the Duke which accompanied his present, should have remarked that the rendering of the stuffs was not perfect. The painting of the head is in contrast wonderfully simple, with quiet touches of light in the lofty brow, the full cheeks, and the bold aquiline nose; from beneath the arched eyebrows the man's clear eyes are gazing keenly into the distance.

While this portrait has preserved an exact impression of Aretino's appearance, retaining what was common in the man's powerful features, in a second portrait in the Palazzo Chigi, at Rome, Titian seems to have suppressed all that was base, and to have brought out in the countenance its remarkable intellectual power. He stands as if deep in thought, his gaze, as it were, turned inwards; his left hand grasps his mantle, which allows the orange-coloured dress to be seen, giving to the figure a dignified contour of rounded lines. A broad light on the brow dominates the picture, while the play of light and colour in the doublet is treated with supreme artistic intelligence.

The portrait of Cristoforo Madruzzo must be very grand in the simplicity of its colouring. It was produced in the first months of the year 1542, and is now at Trent, in the Salvadori collection; it is unknown to the author except from reproductions. The youthful prelate, Prince Bishop of Trent, and afterwards Cardinal, is dressed entirely in black silk, and turns half round to the front as he walks, while he lifts with his hand a red curtain, behind which is seen his writing-table covered with a green cloth. This is one of the few examples of a full-length portrait by Titian's hand, of such simplicity that it entirely removes from the beholder all difficulties in imagining its meaning. It is in Italian art, the antithesis to Holbein's picture of the Ambassadors in the National Gallery.

The portrait of the little daughter of Roberto Strozzi (Berlin Gallery), one of the famous Florentine family who had suffered banishment in consequence of their enmity to the House of Medici, is the only child portrait by Titian we possess, and one of the few painted in the most brilliant epoch of the Renaissance; it had not yet become the universal custom to have royal children painted in gala costume by the Court painter. Titian was evidently charmed by the loveliness of this little creature, and devoted all his art to immortalise her. Costly materials, ornaments, a beautiful landscape, everything should be made use of for the same end. The child is playing with a little spotted white and brown dog, who is sitting very prettily on the balustrade, and to whom she is about to give a piece of her cake. Some one apparently has cried out "Look here!" and the child turns her head and faces the spectator. Who could ever forget the impression of this little round face with its sparkling eyes, the sweet

little mouth, the wealth of brown curls? Against a space of brownish wall the figure stands out in a shimmering white silk gown reaching to her feet, with a costly gold chain for a girdle, from which hangs, low down, a golden ball. On the right a piece of deep red velvet is laid over the balustrade, which is ornamented with a marble bas-relief of two dancing *putti*. Here the eye is led away into the open air, into the verdant country, of that fragrant beauty Titian so often loved to commemorate in his younger days: thick groups of trees, a pond in the middle of them where swans are swimming, and in the distance blue mountains rising up into the brilliant sky. "Were I a painter I should be in despair," exclaims Aretino *à propos* of this picture, in a letter dated July 6, 1542, "it deserves the first place among all pictures that have ever been painted, and all that may be produced in the future."

For beauty of colour the portrait in the Prado of Isabella of Portugal, Charles V.'s consort, approaches this work closely. Titian had never seen the royal lady; he had to paint her from a portrait by an obscure artist ("di trivial penello"), probably Flemish, representing her as a young woman of about twenty. During that memorable meeting between Pope Paul III. and Charles V., which took place at Busseto, near Cremona, from July 20 to 25, 1543, the Emperor had given Titian the original, and sent word to him afterwards by Aretino, whom he met a few days later at Peschiera, that the portrait was a very good likeness. Titian's picture was sent to the Emperor in 1545. At another time, later, at Augsburg, he painted the Empress, together with her husband, in one canvas. Both of these pictures Charles took with him to Yuste.

It was only when a copy of the portrait, which served as

an original for Titian, became known, (now in the possession of a private individual in Florence) that the magnitude of his achievement could be appreciated. From an indifferently faithful rendering of features, not very strongly marked, his master hand produced a really royal state portrait, which at the same time is a work of art of the highest rank. The dress is composed of a combination of red, crimson, and white, ornamented with gold embroidery and richly set with pearls. The pale and gentle countenance, with its somewhat weak features framed in reddish hair, rises above the white muslin that surrounds the throat. Pose, dress, ornaments, all bespeak the royal lady, while her devout character is indicated by the *livre d'heures* which she holds in her hand. Very high-bred is the right hand, with its long taper fingers resting carelessly on her lap, and brought strongly into the foreground; a prototype, as it were, of the hands in Van Dyck's portraits. A wonderful evening landscape in the distance on the left blends with the soft harmony of tones; it is a delightful view in green, brown, and blue, over hills, groups of trees, and mountains.

A companion picture (taken as a work of art) to the portrait of Isabella is supplied by the likeness of Count Porcia, which latterly has adorned the collection in the Brera: a half-length figure in black, the face turned forwards, an energetic head in repose, made wonderfully lifelike by its rich modelling; across the breast is a broad gold chain with an ornament hanging from it; in the somewhat sombre lower portion of the picture there is the shining knob of the sword and the spot of white in the cuff. His right hand rests idly on the balustrade, the model of an aristocratic hand, almost an effect by

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ISABELLA OF PORTUGAL

PRADO, MADRID

itself; again we have a peep into the far distance, where a last gleam of light still illumines for a moment a broad fall of water.

It is not without interest to cast a glance backwards to those thoughtful likenesses of Titian's earlier period, "l'Homme au gant," and other similar portraits. These, it might be said, were placed in direct communication with the outer world. They would like to talk with us. Even now we sympathise with their feelings and emotions. In the pictures produced between 1540 and 1550 Titian is far more reserved. His sitters appear before us perfectly calm. The principal accent is laid on the head and its pictorial structure; the hands are also very important, both as to colour and character. The earlier portraits have all one common trait, which to a certain extent reveals to us something of the mood of the artist. The later portraits are free from all trace of such sentimental elements. They are noble character pictures, the work of a mature painter possessed of the highest mastery of his craft.

CHAPTER VII

ROME AND AUGSBURG

Shortly before 1540 Titian seems to have had a desire to leave Venice. Till then he had had so many commissions for works on the largest scale that he felt it difficult to get through them; now, at least for a certain time, they ceased. Of the princely patrons who employed him, two, Alfonso d'Este and Francesco Maria della Rovere, were dead. For the Venetian State he had nothing to do after he had completed the battle picture. Orders for great altar-pieces had become rare.

Now was the opportunity for his friend Pietro Aretino to help him to start new connections. On two successive days of the year 1539 (July 10 and 11) Aretino addressed letters of similar purport, the first to Ottaviano de' Medici, the second to his fellow-countryman, the sculptor Leone Leoni, who, at that time, as Master of the Mint, was in close connection with the Papal family Farnese. Aretino wrote that Titian was wishing of all things to be asked to paint portraits of the Duke and Duchess de' Medici, of Signora Maria, of Ottaviano himself, and (this to Leoni) of the Pope. In this second letter Aretino gave it to be understood that the Master would rather paint the portraits of the princes of the House of Farnese than go to Spain, although the Emperor had wished him to do so.

These letters do not appear to have had any immediate effect. We have seen that Titian remained at home for the time, and we know what works were produced then and in the following years. Somewhat later, however, he entered into close relations with the House of Farnese, who had risen to the greatest importance through the head of the family, Pope Paul III. The immediate occasion was furnished by a portrait of Ranuccio Farnese, which Titian began in 1541 and finished in the following year. This grandson of Paul III. and son of Pierluigi, who became later the first Duke of Parma and Piacenza, was at that time a boy of eleven, and lived in Venice; in spite of his youth he already enjoyed high ecclesiastical dignities, was Prior of San Giovanni, and consequently called "the Prior of Venice"; soon afterwards, while still a child, he was made Archbishop of Naples and a Cardinal of the Roman Church.

The education of this young prince of the church had been entrusted to Gianfrancesco Leoni, who a few days after he, in company with some prelates of high rank, had viewed the completed portrait, approached Titian with promises for his son Pomponio. The artist was disposed to come to Rome, so at least it seemed to Leoni, who wrote to that effect on September 22, 1542, to Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, the eldest brother of Ranuccio.

In the following year, 1543, a meeting was arranged with the Pope and the Cardinal. At the beginning of April Titian had left Venice and gone to Ferrara in obedience to a summons, and was present at the arrival there of Paul III. on the 22nd of that month, and probably then accompanied the Court to Bologna. As one of the Pope's suite he took part at Busseto in the meeting between Paul

and Charles V., on which occasion the Emperor gave him the commission for his consort's portrait, and then he returned to Bologna, and was not back in Venice till July. During this time he had frequent opportunity of approaching the Pope, and it was then that his first portrait of him was produced, of the perfection of which, according to Aretino, fame spread wonderful rumours. It is evident attempts were then made to attract Titian to Rome. First a benefice was promised him for Pomponio—an affair about which numerous letters were exchanged extending through many years—then a prospect was opened to him of the lucrative post of the "Piombo," although Sebastiano Luciani held it, and took from it his well-known surname of "del Piombo." Titian, however, declined it, probably out of regard for his contemporary and companion in the studio, and was for this warmly congratulated by Aretino: "By refusing the post offered you, you show how much grander and more distinguished Venice is than Rome."

At last, however, Titian seems to have thought that personal influence might do more than all the writing backwards and forwards, and to have made up his mind to go to Rome, chiefly in the interest of his son. He travelled by Ferrara and Pesaro, where Duke Guidobaldo II., who had himself accompanied him so far, received him into his palace and gave him rich presents; from there he was escorted by the Duke's horsemen to Rome. His son Orazio accompanied him, and on October 15, 1545, he arrived in the Eternal City.

It was the first time Titian had set foot in Rome, after having refused many invitations to go there. Leo X., soon after his accession to the Papal tiara, had tried, with Bembo as intermediary, to draw him to his Court; the Duke

of Ferrara had also offered to take him there, and later Ippolito Medici had made efforts to induce him to come. By this time Titian was already an elderly man—he was verging on his seventieth year, and though he was still fresh enough to receive new impressions, they could no longer alter the character of his art. He regretted now himself that he did not come to Rome twenty years earlier. It may not be without use to ask the question whether it would have been good for Titian to see Rome when he was a younger man. Michelangelo at that time remarked to Vasari, when they were looking together at a "Danae" by Titian, it was a pity that people in Venice did not begin by learning to draw well; that if this painter had as much knowledge of art and drawing as he had natural gifts, he would have reached the highest rank. And Vasari further explains Michelangelo's remarks by saying that whoever had not studied the best antique and modern works could not attain to an ideal execution in art. We, however, must, I think, be grateful that fate did not take Titian from Venice to Rome in his earlier years. The art atmosphere there was dangerous to a nature impressionable to foreign influences—and such was Titian's in his younger days—we can see this best from its effect on the gifted Sebastiano del Piombo. The world would not have gained by a second example of such hybrid art (we say this with all respect for Sebastiano's work), for Venetian colouring and Michelangelesque physical forms do not unite to make a new style; and we should never have seen the highest development of the art of painting in Italy.

In Rome Titian found the warmest welcome. A lodging was given him in the Belvedere. Cardinal Farnese commissioned Vasari to show the guest about. In Vasari'

biographies we find remarks of Titian quoted here and there, which give us some information of what he saw. Being a polite man he admired everything as he ought. He visited the Farnesina, and would not believe that Peruzzi's imitation stucco there was really painted. In the Stanze he found fault with whoever it was that had so "spoilt the figures," without knowing that Sebastiano del Piombo, who was with him, was the author of this "restoration!" We can learn from one of Titian's later pictures the impression that was made upon him by Michelangelo's "Last Judgment," finished a few years previously. What most moved him were the antiquities of Rome. "He has already seen a crowd of antiques, and is quite full of them," writes Bembo in the first days of Titian's visit. And Titian himself said, in a letter to the Emperor: "I am learning from these most wonderful ancient stones" (vado imparando da questi maravigliosissimi sassi antichi).

Thus wrote the same man who had once caricatured the most celebrated of antique statues. There is a well-known woodcut by Niccolò Boldrini, the design for which was undoubtedly by Titian's hand, representing the group of Laocoon, with apes taking the place of Laocoon and his sons. We recognise at the first glance the group which is set in a landscape in the Titianesque spirit. We should much like to know what caused Titian to make this "one protest" against the "noisy admiration" of a whole century. Possibly it was a real antipathy to those who loudly proclaimed that the study of the antique was the only way to arrive at true art, and a witty reproof to such blind guides; perhaps it was only the echo of some lively discussion at a banquet in his own house or Aretino's, and was humorously directed against

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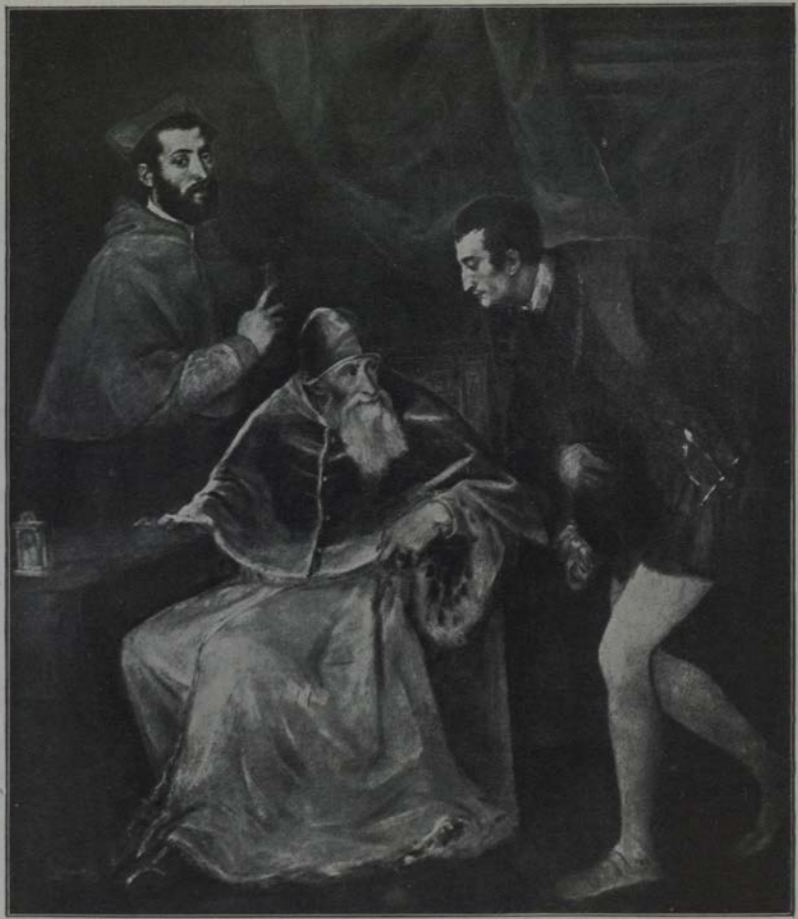

D. Anderson

POPE PAUL III. WITH HIS GRANDSONS

NAPLES

a Sansovino or a Sebastiano del Piombo and their mania for the antique.

A number of works were produced at this time in Rome; and for more than twenty years afterwards Titian kept up his connection with Cardinal Farnese. The inventory of the Farnese art treasures, dated 1680, mentions more than thirty pictures by his hand, of which not one third can be identified. Among the lost pictures we must reckon that double portrait of Paul III. and Pierluigi together, the Pope on a red velvet chair, his feet supported on a red footstool embroidered in gold, under it an oriental carpet; at his side his son in a black costume, also embroidered in gold, with a sword, his hand resting on his hip. The portrait of Margaret of Austria, then lately married to Ottavio Farnese, is also lost, and numerous others. Among those preserved is the full length of Pierluigi with his Duke's staff in his right hand, now in the Palazzo Reale at Naples; not known to the author.

The portrait of the Farnese that most excites interest is the unfinished one representing the Pope with two of his grandsons (Naples Gallery). The old man sits in the centre of the composition, bent with age—he was seventy-eight years old—and is talking with Ottavio, who, with his cap off and with a very devout manner is approaching him and bending down the better to understand, for the Pope spoke very softly. The third here depicted, the Cardinal Alessandro, is on the left, more in the background, and fills a space which would otherwise have been left empty. He looks with indifference out of the picture as if he were taking no part in his grandfather's and brother's business. On these two the interest is centred. We feel something of importance is going on. There is evidently some excite-

ment in the air. How the old man gazes with suppressed anger and full of suspicion at the young prince! His wrinkled left hand almost clutches the arm of the chair.

We ask how such a composition could have come into existence. It cannot be that the figures, except that of the Cardinal, were posed in that way. It seems like some private scene, of which the artist was by chance a spectator. And yet we learn from Vasari that this group was the first picture Titian undertook in Rome. So what seems chance is really a well-calculated arrangement; and the Master's intuition was of that subtle kind which belongs alone to real genius. For, in fact, Titian here discloses a piece of the Farnese family history, which was slowly developing to end in a fearful tragedy. The aged Pope was destined to see his son fall the victim of a conspiracy in 1547, and to find the grandsons, who owed him everything, rise in rebellion against him. Ottavio threatened revolt; this and the discovery that Alessandro knew of his brother's plans broke Paul III.'s heart. He died in 1549. We may read in Ranke the well-known account of these events; and then our thoughts return to Titian's picture, representing the old man, his vigour still unbroken, with his hypocritical grandson and the latter's cold-blooded confederate. Then Titian's creation becomes for us a *document humain* on a grand scale.

Did the Pope perhaps suspect that this work betrayed too much to the outer world, and so it remained unfinished? The fact is the more regrettable that, judging from the sketch, it promised to be one of Titian's masterpieces in colour. The obligatory colours are most cleverly handled, the various reds in the robes of the Pope and of the Cardinal are brought together by the red of the table-cloth; in the

D. Anderson

POPE PAUL III.

NAPLES

centre we have the white under-robe of the old man, and close beside it the black costume of Ottavio. To what a degree of perfection Titian would have brought the textures of the stuffs and the harmony of the colours!

It is instructive to compare the different idea Titian gives of the Pope in his finished portraits. One was painted in Bologna in 1543, as mentioned above; a second was produced in response to an order from Cardinal Guido Ascanio Sforza. So like nature was it that when Titian placed it at an open window to dry the varnish the passers-by all saluted it, thinking it was the Pope himself —so says Vasari in a letter of 1548. In the inventory of the Farnese pictures three portraits of Paul III. are given. The numerous copies preserved almost all differ from each other in details. In one the Pope is represented bare-headed, in another he wears the red biretta; his right hand rests on his knee or on a purse hanging from his belt; or both hands are grasping the arms of his chair. The original of all these works is the picture at Naples, so delicate in the treatment of all the details that it surprises us at this period of Titian's art.

Next to the Pope's portrait in the group may be ranked the one in the Hermitage at St. Petersburg (known to the author only through Braun's photograph), which from its broad and very firm brushwork gives the impression of an original sketch in preparation for a picture to be carried out later, and is proved to have been among Titian's own possessions. The attitude in it is somewhat tired, the eyes have the same suspicious expression, the wrinkles in the face and the withered hands are rendered with the greatest fidelity. In the final version of the portrait, the Pope's real appearance is blended with an artistic concep-

tion of his whole personality, which Titian evidently considered indispensable in a portrait of this kind. We have here the same man, but erect in all his grandeur, only a slight bend of the head betrays his advanced age; he sits in his arm-chair turning to the right, dignified in the extreme, his head with its white beard faces the spectator, his eye is thoughtful, his left hand rests on the arm of his chair, his right adorned with the Papal ring is placed well in front as being an essential factor; it is a wonderful hand, highly characteristic and in a most natural position. An old man, but still full of far-reaching plans, a man who needs no outward signs of his rank to be known for a ruler; an important intellectual power, free from that evil expression which makes the first likeness almost repulsive. Here we recognise the man who played a large part in the history of his time and who was a generous patron of art, and can in this respect be compared, if any one can, to Julius II. To Michelangelo, who wished to retire from his service that he might devote himself to completing Julius' monument, Pope Paul III. uttered the following well-known remark: "For thirty years I have been longing to employ you, and now that I am Pope can I deny myself the pleasure?" Michelangelo then painted by his order the "Last Judgment" in the Sistine Chapel. This Pope's memory is preserved better by Rome's grandest palatial building, the Palazzo Farnese, than by the Paolina Chapel in the Vatican, named after him.

A half-length figure of Christ—an Ecce Homo—was painted in Rome as a present for Paul III., and, according to Vasari, was not quite so perfect as Titian's other works. For the young Ottavio Farnese, however, he painted according to Ridolfi, that picture of Danae about which

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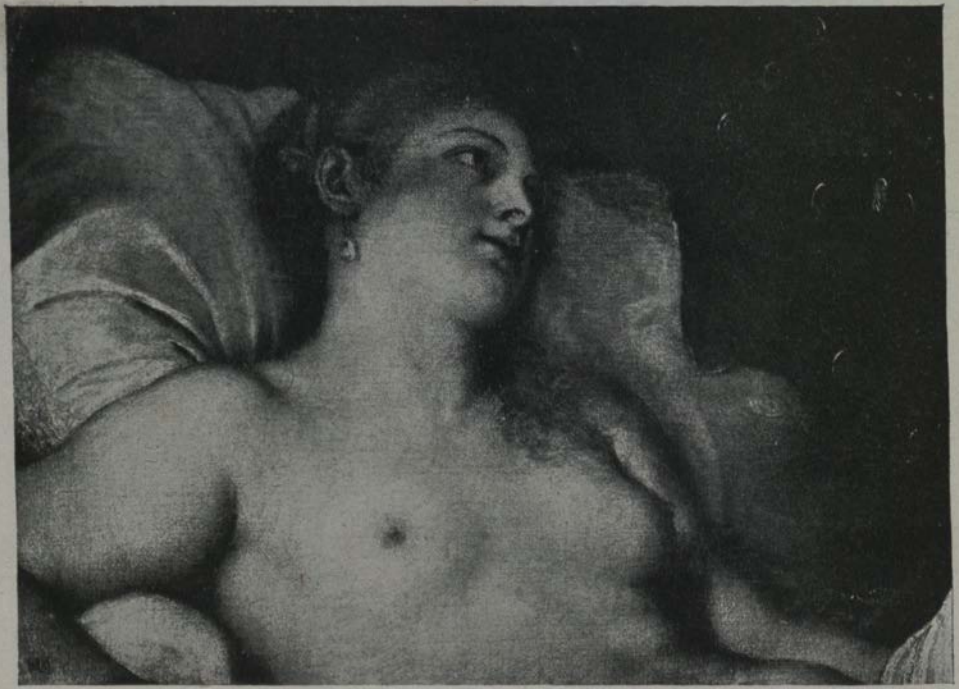

D. Anderson

DANAE (DETAIL)

NAPLES

Michelangelo made the remark already quoted, the first version of a subject which, by Titian himself and also in his studio, was frequently repeated, with many variations.

The picture passed from the Farnese collection into the gallery at Naples, and has this in common with the later pictures of Danae that the principal figure is identical, of powerful make, and of quite a different race from the Venus of the Tribuna, to whom we look back with regret. This picture was produced under the eye of Titian's great contemporary, and it was here that he made the nearest approach to the colossal forms of Michelangelo. Lying on soft cushions, so that the upper part of her body is fully displayed, Danae awaits expectantly the coming of the god. Her eye no less than her limp right hand, which mechanically catches hold of the linen sheet, betrays her emotions. The full red of a curtain serves as a foil to the light tint of the flesh, which vies in brilliancy with the white material and yet decidedly differs from it in colour. In the half light of the alcove a dark cloud drops downwards, wherein the god is hidden, producing the most charming modulations of light and shadow on the splendid form. At the approach of Jupiter the boy Love glides away to the right, casting as he goes a last glance of curiosity and fear on the cloud. Beyond his form we descry the loveliest sunny landscape, all bright green and blue, and a brilliant bit of sky.

Unfortunately the picture at Naples has suffered much damage, and for charm of colour falls far behind the replica at Madrid, which, though not painted till 1554 for Philip II., may be mentioned now. The principal figure remains unchanged, except that no sheet covers the upper part of the hip, and therefore some not very happy cross

lines of drapery have been left out. It seems as if the Master had only painted the pose on the groundwork of an older sketch and not from the model, for so only can some bits of bad drawing (for instance of the right foot) be explained. But now to make us forget this, comes in all the power of colour of which Titian's brush was capable in this the most heroic period of his style. It is not easy to describe in words how light and shadow melt into one another, how the sheet loosely swells up and down, clinging closely to the figure and hardly to be distinguished from it, how from the dark cloud that fills the background a golden ray breaks forth and symbolises more clearly than the falling shower of gold pieces the arrival of the god. To all this must be added the old woman in brown at the foot of the couch, who sees only treasure in the gold and tries to catch it in her apron—used by the artist as a contrast in colour to the strong light on Danae's figure, and as an effective contrast in form to her youthful beauty. This figure, the counterpart to which in Titian's works is only to be found in the saleswoman in "The Presentation of Mary in the Temple" seems to have given a strong impulse to the art of Spanish painters.

In the letter he addressed to Charles V. from Rome, from which a few words were quoted above, Titian also mentions the figure of a Venus he had executed by the Emperor's orders, and expresses the hope of being able to bring it with him, which he did in 1548. It is probable that at that time, in connection with the "Danae," the "Venus with the Lute-player" (in the Prado) was produced; also that other "Venus," closely allied to it, which forms in the Tribuna of the Uffizi a companion picture to the "Venus of Urbino."

The goddess' couch, hidden from the background by a red curtain on the right, is placed on an open loggia, from which we gaze over a low balustrade into a park. There water is falling into the shell of a fountain surmounted by the stone statue of a satyr, deer are browsing, a peacock strutting, and a double row of cypresses carries the eye out into the distance. The nude figure of the goddess is relieved in all its beauty against white linen and rich deep red velvet. Bending somewhat forwards, so that the upper part of her form is resting on her right arm, Venus is playing with a little dog who jumps up upon her. She is listening to the notes of the organ which an elegant young man, in fashionable costume, wearing a sword and seated at the foot of the couch, has just been playing. He now lets his hand rest on the keys and turns round to his beautiful companion.

There is a certain coarseness in presenting two such figures in one picture, and this is further increased by the expression of their faces. Venus, a fair-haired woman, with lovely curls round her brow, is evidently a likeness of some not too virtuous beauty; the cavalier seems only annoyed at his music being interrupted by the lap-dog, and has scarcely a glance for charms of which he has already tired. It has been supposed that his features are those of Ottavio Farnese; in any case, this figure is certainly a portrait. And again Titian's power as a colourist succeeds in doing away with objections which arise more forcibly here than anywhere else. We may criticise the "Venus of Urbino" for triviality in incident, the "Venus" at Madrid for frivolity; but this one has an irresistible charm of colour, and it is superior to the others in its wonderful grandeur of form. The woman's pose is certainly not

entirely beautiful, for the Master here adheres too exactly to the shape of his model; but the natural sweep of the lines, explained by a perfectly easy posture, and the splendidly felt contour enable the defects to be forgotten. This grand artistic ideal of form seems to justify the nude figure as well as the whole picture.

We possess a replica by Titian himself, now the companion picture to that commonly known as the "Venus of Urbino" in the Tribuna of the Uffizi. The general arrangement and the form of the goddess are almost exactly repeated, but instead of the cavalier we see at her feet a lap-dog barking at a bird sitting on the balustrade. The figure of Venus is perhaps on a still grander scale, almost muscular in physique, yet rendered exactly and with perfect art from nature. The head too is not that of a frivolous playful creature, but is fine and grave, even full of nobleness. It is like that of Venus in the picture of the "Goddess at her Toilet," and as has been rightly remarked, reminds us of the features of Titian's daughter as she appears in the Dresden portrait, a full grown woman. Venus turns with a quick glance to the boy Cupid, who clasps her from behind and lays his little arm on her shoulder. The artist has invented a new landscape for this picture, feeling perhaps that the park would not be suitable here; in the foreground to the right there is a lofty tree, undulating country, and then hills; a broad distance, over which the tone and calm of evening is spreading.

This composition, as well as the "Danae" and some mythological pictures still to be mentioned, are widely known from numerous replicas, originating partly in the artist's own studio.

Titian's stay in Rome lasted for about eight months. The city did him the honour to elect him a Roman citizen on March 20, 1546. He returned home by a different road, passing through Florence. He admired the art treasures of the town on the Arno, and paid a visit to Duke Cosimo at Poggio a Caiano; but his desire to be allowed to paint a portrait of the prince was not fulfilled, although Aretino had furnished him with a letter of recommendation. Towards the end of July 1546 Titian was back again in Venice. The principal object of his journey, to procure a benefice for his son, he had not achieved; negotiations on the subject still dragged on.

Exactly a year later Cardinal Alessandro Farnese again tried to attract Titian to Rome and to keep him there altogether. Sebastiano del Piombo had just died, on June 21, 1547; his lucrative post was again offered to Titian with renewed pressure. The Master was inclined this time to accept it, his election as papal Piombatore was almost decided, when there came to him a summons from the north which he felt obliged to obey. Charles V. himself invited him to come to Augsburg, and Titian, notwithstanding his advanced age, decided to undertake the arduous journey.

After the battle of Mühlberg, April 24, 1547, Charles V. was master in Germany more than ever before, and he summoned the Reichstag to Augsburg that he might dictate his wishes to the Estates. It was then probably that the idea occurred to him to have his portrait painted once again by Titian, whom he preferred to all others.

He wished to be portrayed as a victorious commander, and on horseback.

On October 26, 1547, Antonio Granvella, Bishop of Arras, wrote to Aretino: "His Majesty intends, as I hear, to summon Titian to his Court"; at the same time he expressed the hope that the painter would, in fulfilment of a promise made at Busseto, paint one or two portraits for him. Aretino, in his answer, describes the excitement which the news of Titian's summons to Germany caused in Venice. The crowd stormed the house of the painter and bought whatever pictures could be found there at a high price, "for," he adds, "all are convinced that his Majesty will put their Apelles in such a position that he will for the future only exercise his art for him."

Titian, in fact, had an uneasy conscience with regard to Alessandro Farnese. Shortly before his departure he wrote to this patron of his that he was only yielding with unwillingness to the pressure put upon him by the Emperor, who had sent him his journey money and other necessary things, and that he regretted he could not now fulfil his obligation of entering the service of the Farnese. He did not send this letter direct, but under cover to Duke Guidobaldo of Urbino, who, about the middle of the year, had become the Cardinal's brother-in-law, and who sent it on with some words of recommendation, mentioning especially the benefice for Pomponio. And thus, we add in passing, Titian at last had reached the goal of his years of exertion for his son; in February 1548 Aretino sent him the joyful news that his wish was accomplished.

The Christmas of 1547 and the beginning of the new year were spent by Titian in Venice. Before his departure he presented to Aretino a replica of the "Ecce Homo,"

which, together with the "Venus," he was taking with him for the Emperor. His friend wrote to him to Augsburg that this picture would turn his bed-chamber into the temple of God. There is no doubt we may identify the "Ecce Homo" destined for the Emperor with the half-length figure of Christ painted on slate now in the Prado. The Saviour is here represented nude, except for the red cloth hanging over His left shoulder and covering His arm and pressed against His body by His fettered hands. He resembles in expression and type the figure of Christ in the great Vienna "Ecce Homo." Although we can follow exactly the history of this picture and of its companion, the "Mater Dolorosa," which Titian sent off to Charles V. in 1555—both accompanying the Emperor in 1556 to Spain—they do not display sufficiently high artistic qualities for us to be able to regard them as works entirely by the Master's own hand.

At the beginning of January Titian left Venice in company with many persons, among whom was a distant relative, Cesare Vecellio, who is still often mentioned as the author of a work on ancient and modern costume, and travelled by Ceneda and then by Innsbruck to the Imperial city. At Ceneda he received from the Count della Torre, and took with him, on January 6, a letter of recommendation to the Cardinal of Trent, whose portrait he had painted six years before, and who, about the same day, arrived in Augsburg after a mission to Rome.

"Augsburg is a very wealthy town and very old, and it contains magnificent buildings," thus Cesare Vecellio sums up the impression the Imperial city made upon him. The seat of the richest German merchants, the Fuggers and Welsers, was distinguished even in ordinary times for the

"great number of foreigners who constantly streamed into it." But at this time an assemblage of royal personages had gathered round the Emperor such as was not often to be seen in those days. Of the Imperial family there were present Charles' brother and sister, Ferdinand, King of the Romans, with his son Maximilian, and Queen Mary of Hungary, Governess (*Statthaltorin*) of the Netherlands, accompanied by her niece, the Duchess of Lorraine, and the Princess of Orange. Besides these, the Electors of Mayence, Treves, and Cologne, the Markgraf of Brandenburg and his wife, with Albrecht of Brandenburg, the Elector Maurice of Saxony, and the Count Palatine with his wife, a niece of the Emperor, the Ducal family of Bavaria, the Duke of Brunswick and three Princes of Mecklenburg, Philibert Emanuel of Savoy, the Cardinals of Trent and Augsburg, and numerous great princes of the Church. Then there was the suite of the Emperor, among whom were prominent Alva, who, however, soon left in January for Spain, and the two Granvellas, father and son, one the Chancellor and the other Bishop of Arras. But the centre of interest was the captive Elector John Frederick of Saxony.

It was an unusually brilliant time in Augsburg. The ceremonial entries of the incoming Princes, the solemn sittings of the Reichstag, the High Masses at which all the Princes assisted, above all the gorgeous ceremony on February 24, when in the market-place the Emperor invested Maurice of Saxony with the Electoral dignity, all this must have vied in splendour with the pomp which accompanied the public appearances of the Venetian nobility.

Titian was fortunate enough to enter into close relations

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CHARLES V. AT MÜHLBERG

PRADO, MADRID

with the principal persons in this great historic scene. The greater number of them sat to him at that time. This unique collection of portraits passed into the Netherlands as the property of Mary of Hungary, and from there to Spain, but only a few of them have been preserved to the present day. First in importance come the portraits of the Emperor himself.

"You paint the Emperor," wrote Aretino to Titian in April 1548, "on the horse he rode and in the armour he wore on the day when he won the battle in the Saxon land." This is the equestrian portrait now in the gallery at Madrid. From the accounts of those who were present at the battle of Mühlberg, and perhaps from the Emperor himself, Titian could reconstruct what then occurred. From the left, where a lofty group of trees closes the picture, the Emperor is riding towards the ford across the Elbe on a chestnut-coloured Andalusian charger, in his armour inlaid with gold, with a lance in his right-hand. The scarf he wears over his breastplate and the feathers on his helmet are red; the charger is also caparisoned in red. His pale countenance gleams from beneath his helmet. The surrounding landscape is just indicated rather than treated with historical faithfulness, and the broad hilly country, with a few isolated trees in the distance in brown and green tints, serves as a strong background to make the person of the Emperor stand out more brilliantly.

It is wonderful to note how Titian, without departing in the least from truth in his presentment of Charles's personal appearance, gives him a fine and even heroic expression. His sickly complexion is neutralised by a look of indomitable resolution and by his firm carriage, which prevents us from thinking of anything but his

heroic stature. Thus was he known in time of war. "The Emperor cannot conceal the pleasure he feels in war," says the Venetian ambassador, Bernardo Navagero, "then he becomes quite lively, even cheerful; when with the army he likes to be about everywhere, but at other times in his life he is very grave" (gravissimo).

As if he would bequeath these two sides in Charles's nature to the intelligent appreciation of posterity, Titian painted besides the portrait on horseback one of the Emperor at home, having from his often-mentioned near intercourse with him opportunity of studying his ways. On a summer evening the monarch's armchair, covered with purple velvet, has been placed on a balcony. There he sits quietly; his features seem motionless, but his eyes gaze out sharply. Here all the features which give to Charles's countenance so strongly marked a character are faithfully reproduced; the eagle nose, the projecting lower lip, the mouth slightly open, the short-cut very grey beard, as well as the sickly complexion. The only ornament on his black garment is the Order of the Golden Fleece. The Emperor draws his fur-lined mantle closely round him; he is tormented with gout. On the arm of the chair rests his wonderfully characteristic right hand, psychologically almost as attractive as the head itself. The red in the carpet spread on the floor, the orange yellow damask hung up behind the Emperor on the left, and one of those splendid pieces of landscape Titian alone, except perhaps Rubens, could paint, complete the colour impression of this portrait, which serves as a perfect supplement to the equestrian portrait. It is in the Pinakothek at Munich.

While Charles V. was considered phlegmatic and slow

Hanfstaengl

CHARLES V.

PINAKOTHEK, MUNICH

in making up his mind, his brother, King Ferdinand, was hot-tempered and quick. The ambassadors found him "almost too jovial." The King was then in his forty-fifth year. He was rather small; the striking points in his face were his high cheek bones, his large somewhat hooked nose, his thick lips, the lower one projecting, the reddish colour of his shaggy hair and long beard. "The details of his appearance are ugly," says Contarini, "but the brightness of his eye, his quick mind, and his cleverness in speaking when once he has been instructed in his subject, made him appear as a man who needs not to fear comparison with others." Here again Titian understood how to bring out the striking personality of his sitter. We can trace his character trait for trait in his face, but neither the ugliness nor the unfavourable stature of the King strike us. The copy preserved in the Prado of the lost original shows a half-length of Ferdinand in complete armour, which evidently must have been painted with the perfect art of the colourist; he is bare-headed, his right hand rests on his helmet lying before him on a table covered with a red cloth. The pensive expression of his countenance veils the thoughts that fill his brain.

The captive Elector, John Frederick of Saxony, was painted by Titian at least twice; once with a scar on his face in the armour which he wore in battle, the second time in a black robe edged with sable, sitting in an armchair. Only the latter picture is known (Vienna Gallery); in spite of serious damage it still shows Titian's handiwork everywhere. Faithfully as John Frederick's really neither attractive nor striking features are depicted, there is in this portrait a nobility of conception which makes us

recognise the Prince in this man who has been so often portrayed for us by his Court painter, Lucas Cranach, as a good homely burgher. The forcible head on a short neck and the fat, but, as Titian has painted them, well-shaped hands, dominate the picture; his unwieldy shape is indeed not quite hidden by the simple costume, but it does not press on our attention. We can recognise in the eyes gazing out so calmly and in the firmly-closed mouth the steadfast character of the man, who held fast obstinately to what he considered right, and for years endured imprisonment for his religious convictions.

Among the courtiers it was the younger Granvella with whom Titian was most intimate. They renewed in Augsburg friendly relations which had begun in earlier years. The Bishop of Arras was a warm friend and protector of art, and had adorned the Granvella palace at Besançon with a valuable collection; besides antique statues, pictures from the hand of Leonardo, Correggio, Andrea del Sarto, Dürer, and others were to be seen there. If his friendliness towards Titian was not entirely free from the selfish endeavour to obtain as many works as possible from him—in every letter to the painter he expresses some fresh desire—Titian, on his side, thought he could engage this powerful prelate in his own interest. To none of his numerous patrons has he so often asserted he was ready to serve him, and even in his later letters to King Philip he never used the signature "for ever your slave" (*vostro perpetuo schiavo*) which is to be found in a letter to the Bishop. He assures him "all my hope rests on you, and if God should grant me a few years more of life I will devote my pictures to you; for I know you are a friend of painting and of all arts." Another time: "With a loud

voice will I proclaim that in all the world I have no greater support and refuge than in my noble Lord of Arras." And the Bishop on his part answered: "Rest assured that I will help you in all things as the best friend that you have on earth; for no other man in the world respects you and your noble art more highly than I."

Titian painted at that time three pictures for the Bishop at Augsburg, amongst which must certainly have been the portraits of the two Granvellas. One of them, which represents the aged Chancellor, Nikolaus Perrenot, has remained safely in the home of his family, in the Museum at Besançon; it is known to the author only from Braun's photograph. It must be one of Titian's finest works; a half-length figure in a black costume with broad fur facings, the only relief to the expanse of black being the chain and Order of the Golden Fleece. The head is that of a strong man, with a breadth of lofty brow, a long slightly curved nose, bright eyes which gaze fixedly into the distance, and a long-shaped face, prolonged still further by the peaked grey beard ending in two points. Demeanour and attitude are wonderfully simple; the left hand is catching hold of the fur, the right hanging down carries his gloves, everything is natural and easy, as if characteristic of the individuality of the sitter. The companion picture, representing Perrenot's wife, and the portrait of the Cardinal himself are unfortunately not to be traced.

Titian stayed about eight months in Augsburg, nearly as long as in Rome. He remained there after the Emperor had left the city on August 13, and was probably fully employed finishing the numerous portraits, all of which he could not possibly have completed sooner. The eques-

trian portrait of the Emperor especially required more work than the artist had expected, and he was still busy over it at the beginning of September. About the middle of that month he travelled southwards in company with Otto Truchsess of Waldburg, Cardinal of Augsburg, first up the Lech to Füssen, where he stayed some days, and then on to Innsbruck. Here a commission from King Ferdinand kept him for more than a fortnight, from October 4th to 21st. The King had expressed a wish that he should paint the portraits of his daughters, who were then being brought up at Innsbruck, and Titian had practical reasons for conceding to such wishes. He only sketched in the portraits at Innsbruck, and took them home with him to complete at leisure. It is not known for a certainty whether he painted the four eldest or all the seven princesses.

By the beginning of November Titian was back again in Venice. Scarcely was the news spread abroad that he had brought with him portraits of King Ferdinand's daughters than his house was besieged by all the principal men and women of the city, who flocked to see them. They were admired on all sides. The envoy of Mantua at once proposed to the Master that he should leave the pictures to Cardinal Gonzaga, while the widowed Duchess of Mantua wished for the portrait of Princess Katherine, who was betrothed to her son, the young Duke. Evidently Titian must have painted a series of replicas, but took his time about it; even King Ferdinand, who had originally ordered the pictures of his daughters, did not get them till the beginning of the year 1550. The original portraits by Titian's hand have not come down to us.

Hardly had Titian been a month at home when he was again obliged to undertake another long journey. Philip of Spain had landed in Italy on a progress, to make him acquainted with the States he was destined one day to rule; and he summoned the Master to Milan "most peremptorily," so wrote Titian to Granvella. On the 18th of December the painter set out, and was probably present at Philip's ceremonial reception in the capital. It was then that he made the first sketch of a portrait of the Prince and of his companion Alva, both of which were finished in Venice, and inspired Aretino to write sonnets on them.

The following months were no doubt entirely occupied with completing the portraits of the Hapsburgs. Besides, Titian had to execute for Charles V.'s sister, Queen Mary of Hungary, four large pictures, which should represent Tantalus, Sisyphus, Tityus, and Prometheus. Three of them were painted in the first half of 1549; for they already adorned the great hall of the Summer palace of Binche, for which the Queen evidently had destined them, in the August of the same year when Philip was her guest in the Low Countries. The last picture of this series, however, was not executed till much later, in 1553. The Queen took the pictures with her to Spain; in the sixteenth century they hung in the Alcazar at Madrid, and gave to the room its name, "Pieza de las Furias," which may be translated "the room of the Forces." In course of time two pictures of the series were lost, and the Prometheus and Sisyphus, still remaining in the Prado, are supposed, on the strength of ancient testimony, to be copies by the hand of Sanchez Coello. If so Coello must have worked with the highest skill in imitation of Titian's style. The two pictures really display all the bold design, the touch,

and the colouring of Titian, and should be reckoned among his finest original creations.

We can still imagine the general effect of the room when the pictures adorned it. Four colossal single figures (each picture measures more than two metres square), superhuman in form, struggling in torment, with a grand gloomy background suited to their dark-coloured bodies. Sisyphus is trying to push his rock up the mountain height; cliffs encircle him, and a whirlwind blows the flames of the underworld up around him. Prometheus lies stretched out over masses of mountain rock, of which he seems to have almost become a part; one arm hangs down over the cliff, his body is shrinking and writhing. It is as if Titian in these human forms would symbolise the struggles of the forces of nature. In drawing the masses of rock the remembrance of the mountains of his early home no doubt assisted him.

Two years had hardly passed since Titian returned to Venice from Augsburg, when Charles V., who had been staying there from July 8, 1550, to hold the Reichstag, summoned him thither for the second time. On October 25 Titian was in Innsbruck, and had reached Augsburg at the latest by the beginning of November. In an audience he had of the Emperor he delivered to him, as reported by Aretino, the pictures he had brought with him, but which they were we do not hear. The same persons were for the most part again assembled whom the artist had met there the first time; the members of the Imperial family, and the Princes of Germany and the Emperor's suite; amongst these one only was missing, Chancellor Granvella,

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PROMETHEUS

PRADO, MADRID

whom death had claimed a few months previously. Fresh arrivals were Prince Philip and the painter, Lucas Cranach, who had joined his master at the end of July to share the remainder of his captivity. Titian made friends with Cranach, and sat to him for a portrait, one among several which the industrious artist then painted. The loss of this picture is much to be regretted. It would have been interesting to see how Titian's imposing personality appeared when depicted by Cranach with his usual faithfulness.

The real reason of Titian's summons was that the Emperor wished him to paint several portraits of the heir to the throne, and there is no doubt that the portraits of Philip we possess were painted at that time. There were at least three different versions. One gave the Prince's head only—this is one of the pictures already mentioned as in the possession of Mary of Hungary—the others were full-length. Philip's features were rather insignificant, his figure weakly, and might be called small. In his face the projecting under-lip was very marked. In spite of all this, Titian again managed to combine dignity of conception with a faithful representation of the actual characteristic features. One time, in the picture in the Prado, the Prince appears in armour, wearing a costly damascened breastplate, on the metal of which a couple of broad touches of light are placed; the lower part of his body is clothed in white silk. His left hand rests on his sword, the right on his helmet, which, with a steel gauntlet, lies on a table covered with red velvet. A somewhat tired expression betrays Philip's phlegmatic temperament, early inclined to melancholy. In the other two pictures the head is more turned aside, and the eyes, with somewhat drooping eyelids, look to the left. A very clever rapid sketch (to

judge from the photograph), formerly in the Giustiniani collection at Padua, was the original design for these portraits. Here a gorgeous Court dress sets off his figure; over a white garment, embroidered in gold, is a short cloak with sleeves richly adorned with embroidery; the left hand holds his gloves, his right grasps the hilt of a dagger (Palazzo Pitti and the Gallery, Naples).

What nature had denied the Prince he managed, in a measure, to make up for by his bearing. He was at that time considered very proud. His dress was very rich and of exquisite elegance, while Charles V. was remarkable for the simplicity of his costume. In Titian's portrait these peculiarities are most ingeniously made use of; we note them as special characteristics of the sitter. And so the unfavourable points in the Prince's figure are hidden. The defects are there, but we do not notice them. Titian makes the good points in the face prominent, and improves them by a wonderfully delicate colouring; the well-developed brow, the strongly-marked eyebrows, the large blue eyes, and finely-cut nose. These portraits of Philip are Titian's highest achievements as a Court painter in the best sense of the word. "It rivets with irresistible power our eye and our imagination": so wrote Morelli of the picture at Madrid. "We never tire of gazing at the clever drawing, and the fine artistic harmony of colour in this picture. Everything lives in it. The delicate aristocratic hands alone are a whole biography; the animated drawing of the legs, the brilliant armour, also the sallow, mysterious countenance, with its gloomy, silent gaze—it is really a miracle of art."

Philip took leave of the Emperor on the 25th of May and returned to Spain, while Charles went to Innsbruck. It is

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PHILLIP OF SPAIN

PRADO MADRID

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possible that Titian set out on his journey home in the Emperor's suite. Probably Charles may then have told him by word of mouth his wishes concerning the "Trinity," a picture he then ordered. Titian never saw again either the Emperor or his successor; but he worked for them untiringly to the end of his life.

CHAPTER VIII

CHURCH PICTURES AND PORTRAITS ABOUT 1550. TITIAN AND THE HAPSBURGS

TITIAN in his old age made a decided change in the character of his method of painting. Till then it had gone on quietly developing, had slowly shaken off certain traditions, and found its own expression in colour. The delicate and careful execution, usual though not universal in his earlier works, gradually gave way to a broader and bolder touch; his great compositions are built up by their colour and held together by their light and shade. Till about midway between 1540 and 1550 delight in rich colouring is the main characteristic of Titian's pictures.

Then there came a change. We find ourselves at once confronted by works of art which seem to be without the strongest of Titian's qualities. The brilliant colours have disappeared. Seldom does he now choose a bright and cheerful lighting for a picture, but generally tries after some peculiar effect of light which gives the tone to the whole work. We feel sometimes as if the artist had taken up his brush for the sake of that effect alone. It is, however, by these experiments of various kinds that Titian became a colourist.

This assertion will perhaps cause astonishment. Can Titian be said to have become a colourist only in his

latter years? Let us understand clearly what is meant. While depending less and less on the help of strong tints and the use of contrasts, he was trying to reach the highest effect of colour by the employment of the simplest possible means. He gradually dispensed with local colours in larger masses and worked them instead into one another on the canvas, so that the spectator should receive an impression of colour without being able to name any particular tint. Occasionally his pictures have almost assumed the character of works in monochrome. Have they thereby lost the effect of colour? Remembering that many of them have from various causes suffered considerable damage, we must admit, on the contrary, that these pictures have a greater power of light, and are illuminated, as it were, from within, and by this means excel pictures with the richest colouring. Rembrandt's paintings alone, produced by a similar pictorial skill, can compete with them for effect of light. Colour without the use of strong tints—herein lies the importance of this latest phase in Titian, the colourist.

By observing wonderful and peculiar effects of light, Titian at last almost dispensed with clear and sharp outlines for producing solidity of form. He was too much of a painter not to have noticed that the eye at a certain distance, especially in the open air, is no longer able to distinguish outline, and he was bold enough to remember this fact in his works of art, and thus advanced far beyond his contemporaries, with the exception, perhaps, of Tintoretto.

The result was that the technique of his painting was altered and his brushwork became quite different. Hitherto he had laid the colour on the canvas in broad sweeps of

the brush, but now he painted in blurred strokes, and in his effect always made allowance for the correct distance of the spectator from the picture. This fact was discovered by the more observant among his contemporaries, such as Mary of Hungary, who, when sending to Queen Mary I. of England the portrait of Philip of Spain, her future husband, writes that the portrait should be viewed from a distance, like all Titian's pictures, which could not be appreciated when looked at near. In Spain this manner was specially admired, and received the name of "borrones de Ticiano"; "Sketches after the manner of Titian."

There are many critics, indeed, who have not recognised the advance here made alike by artistic insight and pictorial skill, and who ascribe Titian's latest manner to his advanced age, declining eyesight, and increasing unsteadiness of hand (see a Spanish dialogue on painting, of 1631; and in modern times, C. Justi). On this subject, however, I think may be quoted a wise remark of Giorgio Vasari's, who, though otherwise no friend of such boldness in colour, being harsh, too, in his judgment of Tintoretto, yet acknowledged with respect Titian's skill. It must be allowed that in another passage he says it would have been better if Titian in his old age had painted only for his own amusement. "It is true," says Vasari, "his technical manner in these last works is very different from that of his youth, for the earlier pictures are delicate and executed with astonishing carefulness, so that they can be looked at near, whereas these last ones are done with broad, coarse strokes and blots of colour, in such wise that they should not be examined near at hand, but from afar look perfect. This style of his has caused many who tried to imitate him to produce absurdities; that is, because they think

his pictures were done without trouble, in which they are much mistaken. For we can see that they are carefully executed, and that the artist worked upon them with the colour several times and with great labour. This manner of painting is judicious, beautiful, astonishing, for it makes the pictures seem full of life and very artistic, while it hides all the difficulties."

And to these words of Vasari we may add the fine passage from Justi, who had previously compared Titian's later works unfavourably with those of his youth: "The glowing tones of colour, the wonderful effects of light, here a sombre nocturne, there all radiant brightness, do they not show how he is ever still seeking to penetrate those mysteries of the picturesque which had yet to be discovered in the future? Even this decadent work of the great man's old age has sufficed to provide eagerly studied models, a special style and new life to whole generations of Castilian painters."

About the same period, midway between 1540 and 1550, Titian was again occupied mostly with sacred pictures. He received commissions for many important altar-pieces, and in the interval between his journeys to Rome and to Augsburg he was probably devoting his powers to these works.

Some were destined for small communities on the mainland. From the year 1542 the Master had been in treaty with the Podestà of Serravalle about an altar-piece for the cathedral; when he went to Rome it had probably been begun and was standing in his studio. On his return from his travels he finished it, but his price was not agreed

to by the purchasers, and he received no payment for it till 1553. This picture still hangs in the Cathedral of Serravalle. The Madonna is enthroned on clouds, adored by SS. Peter and Andrew; in the centre between the two Apostles a lake extends away into the distance, and we perceive Christ in the boat calling the two disciples. Here Titian made use of his remembrance of what he had seen in Rome, and by borrowing for the incident in the middle distance from Raphael's "Miraculous Draught of Fishes," he gratefully acknowledged the deep impression which that composition had made upon him.

The author regrets that only having seen this picture once on a dull day, and having been unable to obtain a reproduction of it, he cannot describe it so as to give any idea of it as a work of art.

Not far from Serravalle stands the little Castel Roganzuoloa, near Conegliano, close to which Titian owned a small property. In the village church, from whence there is a wonderful view over the Treviso country as far as to the Adria, the Master painted an altar-piece in several parts. In the middle is the Madonna with the Child on her arm, at the sides St. Peter with a book in his hand, and St. Paul turning decidedly round to the left with the sword in his right hand; over the centre picture is a Pietà. In August 1549 the picture was fetched away from Venice after payments by instalments had been made for it for more than six years; these were continued till 1560. For the most part they consisted in kind; casks of wine were often sent to the Master in Venice, and stone and other building material were supplied him for a country-house he was erecting on his property. Although we possess most circumstantial information about all this, the altar-piece at Castel Roganzuolo

has not found favour with the critics, who describe it as a work of the School of Titian. I confess that when I saw it once towards sunset it impressed me deeply, especially the beautiful and dignified figure of the Madonna, who stands erect holding the Child with her arm, while His feet just rest on a lofty pedestal; but I must acknowledge that the beauty of the scene, the loneliness and stillness of the place, and suddenly in the twilight of the church to come upon this picture with its wonderful figures and rich colouring, made me more disposed to emotion than to criticism. In any case, the altar-piece deserves more notice than it has yet received.

We are reminded of this noble figure of the Madonna by the Madonna picture in the Pinakothek at Munich: the Virgin is seated on a low stone bench playing with the sturdy-limbed Child, who is throwing Himself about in her arms and clutching firmly her robe. The little flames hovering over their heads were scarcely needed to indicate their divine nature, so strongly expressed by the majesty of the figures. This is perhaps Titian's most sublime impersonation of the Blessed Virgin. It stands in the same relation to his earlier pictures, the "Madonna with the Cherries," and others of the same kind, as the "Venus and Cupid" does to the "Venus of Urbino," or to the goddess-like being in the "Sacred and Profane Love." Her charm does not consist so much in beauty that fascinates the eye as in a grave, almost stern dignity, softened by the gentle smile with which she looks down upon her Son. The colouring of the picture with its subdued tones points to the Master's latest period, to which also belongs the grand landscape on the right: a sunset with a cloudy sky, a single tree rising up beyond the dark hills, its colour melting into the

evening light; the whole effect is broad and fine and wonderfully grand, obtained by the simplest means.

The landscapes Titian now painted were different from those in his earlier works. We no longer find the rich smiling meadow-land, finely wooded and bordered by blue mountains. It seems now as if the wild nature of the higher mountain country came more often to his mind. He no longer lovingly lingers over detail, but puts in with bold strokes of the brush the main substance of a grand style of landscape, forming fitting scenery for his sacred personages, who also have altered their character and exchanged loveliness for grandeur. Three pictures of his later period show most clearly this change and the connection between sacred beings and the nature around them: the "St. John the Baptist," painted for the nuns of the convent of Santa Maria Maggiore at Venice (now in the Venetian Academy), and the two pictures of St. Jerome in Paris and in the Brera at Milan, the latter from the church of Santa Maria Nuova at Venice. The points of resemblance between these pictures are many, in spite of the interval that divides them, the St. John having probably been produced ten years earlier than the other two, at the end of the forties of the century.

The question arises, did not landscape here attract Titian as an artist at least as strongly as did the figures? The St. John still predominates in the canvas, occupying almost the whole height, so that he appears colossal. In the picture in the Brera the right proportion between the human being and the scenery round him is observed; but the St. Jerome in the Louvre seems merely to afford the artist opportunity to paint a landscape of lonely grandeur, with rocks and trees in their native wildness. The moon

From a carbon-print by Braun, Clement & Co., Dornach, Alsace

ST. JEROME

PARIS

is slowly rising in the heavens, spreading its light over bough and foliage and glancing on the outlines of the rocks, but the moon itself is hidden by the stem of a tree. Can this be called a sacred picture, because in the foreground, small compared with the gigantic natural objects around him, St. Jerome is kneeling and chastising himself before the cross? His dusky brown form almost disappears into the sombre colours that surround him; we can only guess at his passionate movement and see his white beard shining in the gloom of the twilight. Probably the "landscape" which Titian once, in 1552, sent to Philip of Spain was a picture of this kind; or did the Master really overstep the limit and paint a landscape for itself alone, without any longer looking for some figure of a saint as an excuse for a subject, which in Italy, at all events, was as yet unrecognised?

In the St. John picture the yellowish-brown form of the Baptist, who is raising his arm with a grand gesture, forms the central point of a combination of brown and green, of which the landscape portion of the picture is composed: to the left, beside the saint, is a rock rising above him; to the right, a broad upland with isolated tree trunks standing up against the dark blue sky; a ray of sunshine glides away over the ground and a stream rushes foaming down the surface of the cliff, and with its murmur, alone breaks the stillness.

In the St. Jerome of the Brera the gloomy grandeur of the scenery suits the passionate fervour of the saint, who, clinging to the rock where he has erected the crucifix, gazes at it full of emotion and firmly grasps the stone with which he is about to chastise himself. Here too is complete solitude; a rustle is passing through thick trees, in foliage

resembling beeches, which clothe the precipice; dark cliffs tower up on the left; here and there between the stems and the foliage a bit of sky is visible crossed by yellowish clouds. In a composition where grey, brown, and green predominate, the deep red of the garment round the saint's body is the only strong decided colour. His form is made to stand out by the lighting of the picture, which is at its brightest on his powerful brow and sinewy right arm.

When the subject of the picture seems to demand it Titian still represents nature under a pleasant and cheerful aspect, but made grandiose by sweep of line and simplicity of colour with avoidance of detail, and thus distinguished entirely from the landscape backgrounds of his early period. In the "Supper at Emmaus" (in the Louvre), the country is seen toned by the setting sun; by graduation of colour the view seems opened out far into the distance; on the height to the right is a small house lighted up by the departing rays, and far away are mountains. The component parts are much the same as those of the landscape in the Dresden Venus, but the conception is perfectly different, is grander, far more personal, instinct with true Titianesque vigour.

In this landscape he illustrates wonderfully the words that Cleophas and Luke address to Christ: "It is towards evening, and the day is far spent." They have pressed Him to join them at supper, which they take in an open hall while the daylight is departing. "He took bread and blessed it and brake, and gave to them. And their eyes were opened and they knew Him." This is the moment chosen by Titian for his picture. Every gesture illustrates some detail of the story. By the strong light on His countenance, the majestic character of His head,

and His place in the centre of the composition, Christ is pointed out as the principal person. Cleophas, who sits alone on the near side of the table, close to the right corner, half rises from his stool and folds his hands in prayer; Luke, who is in the prime of manhood, starts back, gazes with wonder at Christ, and spreads out his hand. To them alone is Christ revealed. The host, a stolid fellow, is just entering, with his shirt-sleeves turned up, to ask their wishes, and notices, with a dull expression of astonishment, the sudden emotion of Luke. A servant follows behind him carrying a dish. He is a handsome, elegantly dressed young man in a yellow doublet, on his head a blue cap with a feather.

To understand rightly why Titian introduced these strikingly realistic figures into the Bible story it must be borne in mind that for the representation of the Supper at Emmaus a definite type of composition had been accepted in Venice, which mixed the sacred and profane together in this way. Examples of this are pictures by Marziale in Venice and in Berlin, and an important anonymous work in San Salvatore at Venice. It is interesting to notice by careful comparison how cleverly Titian has made use of this tradition in his composition. For with him the figures of the host and of the serving-lad become necessary factors in colour; they are still more useful in enhancing the poetic value of the principal group by the prosaic manner of their entry. This group is entirely lifted out of real life; but the incident was preceded by ordinary circumstances and took place in earthly surroundings, and it is just this that gives it its miraculous character. That is why the Master placed beside Luke, who is so deeply moved, the host, who for

comic force may be compared with a figure in Shakespeare. If we refuse to allow realism such as this, we deprive art of one of its strongest means of expression.

Besides these larger works, Titian always found time for single portraits. It is but small consolation for the loss of nearly all of them to find information about them here and there in Aretino's letters. The Doge Trevisan, the ambassador Francesco Vargas, and the Duke of Atri were among those whose portraits were then painted. One has been preserved, that of the prelate Beccadelli, Bishop of Ravello, sent to Venice as legate by Julius III., and painted by Titian in July 1552 (Florence, Uffizi). It is broadly treated and very life-like, but we have the impression that the Master did not work at this picture with much interest. Beccadelli is seated in an arm-chair, looking up from a papal letter which he holds open in his hand. Clear eyes, a good-humoured mouth, and fat hands give the impression of a man who would be a pleasant companion, because he knew how to enjoy life.

Far more interesting are the portraits Titian about this time painted of himself and of his daughter Lavinia. The earliest likeness of the Master is probably the one preserved to us in a woodcut representing him half length, holding a little tablet before him and a pencil in his left hand. We gather from the keenly observant expression of the eyes that Titian himself made the sketch for this portrait, which was cut in wood by one Giovanni, a German, living in Venice. Aretino wrote on this woodcut, in July 1550, one of his trifling sonnets. In the best known and the finest of Titian's portraits of himself of this period (in the Berlin Gallery)—those in Vienna and the Uffizi resemble it closely in conception, but are badly

preserved and of doubtful authenticity—the Master is sitting half behind a table covered with a green cloth. On his head, as in all his likenesses, is a little black cap; over a reddish garment he wears a cloak with a broad fur trimming, from under which appear sleeves of a silvery violet colour. On his breast hangs the triple gold chain, the sign of the dignity bestowed on him by the Emperor. A most attractive expression of impetuous strength pervades the whole figure. The head is turned to the right and slightly raised; from beneath his powerful, prominent brow the eyes, keenly observant, are looking fixedly to one side. The hands are full of life, one resting on the left knee, the right lying on the table, both with the fingers extended; here only the ground work of the painting is put in and left unfinished; the details of the costume, too, are not completed; but these hands alone give the whole character of the man. Conception and technique alike display something of haste and impatience; we have the feeling as if the Master's brush were unable to carry out quickly enough his ideas. The way in which the colour is laid on, and the bold strokes of the brush, bring clearly to the perception of the beholder the mood in which this fine work was created.

In contrast with the hasty improvisation of his own likeness is the loving care with which he executed the portraits of his daughter Lavinia. Even now we can realise from these pictures the deep affection of the painter for his child, and at the same time the artistic delight he felt in her grace and loveliness. He dressed her in shimmering white silk; costly pearls surround her slender throat and adorn her ears; broad gold bracelets set with jewels fasten her sleeves close at the wrist. From this wonderful

"harmony in white," which has scarcely anything like it in painting except Rembrandt's "Lady with the Fan," comes out a delicate throat, and above the splendidly painted line of the neck rises the refined oval of the face with the cherry lips, the sweet little nose, the clear dark eyes, inherited from her father, and the glossy light hair. There Lavinia stands, in charming self-consciousness, holding in her right hand a little flag as a fan; so she adorned herself as a young bride for the highest festival of Venice, the "Giorno della Sensa"—Easter Day, when every young Venetian woman put on her best dress and finest jewels (Dresden Gallery).

The loveliness of his daughter inspired Titian to create a work which enjoys a special reputation above many of his other paintings, and was repeated by him several times, with its principal motive the same. In both pictures, at Berlin and in the Prado, Lavinia has her back turned, holding up a heavy metal dish in her hands. From a deep-cut dress her neck shines out, and she only turns her pretty face to the beholder with a glance from beneath the slightly lowered lids of her brown eyes. The two pictures are essentially different in colour; and besides, in one the dish bears the head of the Baptist, in the other fruit and flowers. In the picture at Madrid the general tone of colour is deeper and more brilliant; the full crimson of the dress gives a warm gold tint to the flesh, and here the soft arms emerge from white sleeves falling backwards, and are drawn to perfection and exquisitely painted. The softly modulated transition from stuff to flesh, the delicate modelling and the purity of the half shadows, has again never been equalled but by Rembrandt. In the Berlin picture a beautiful silvery tone makes all

the colours subdued. The red curtain lying in shadow and the rich gold brocade dress cause the soft painting of the flesh, which reminds one of some of Palma's best works, to shine still more brilliantly. A broad landscape in the quiet tones of late evening light complete a pictorial whole with which, for delicately conceived harmony, few pictures in the world can be compared.

Titian painted his daughter another time when she was of maturer years. Resembling the portrait in white in attitude, this picture, which hangs on the same wall in the Dresden Gallery, shows how rapidly Lavinia's beauty had disappeared. Her figure has become more rounded, her hands are almost plump; light colours would no longer have suited her, so Titian, with excellent taste, chose for her costume an olive-green satin dress, turning yellowish in the lights, under which a golden red petticoat is visible. The costliest jewels, pearls with a delicate light on them, and a broad gold chain complete the rich costume. In her right hand she holds a fan of grey ostrich feathers.

Here, again, the truth is forced upon us that Titian in his portraits of women, with very few exceptions, does not altogether attain to the same level of excellence as in his portraits of men. Even the most celebrated, the "Bella," for instance, are without depth of character, for the absence of which his usually perfect choice of colour in dress and accessories cannot always compensate. Titian's women are mostly without souls; they tell us nothing. And yet many of them, such as Isabella d'Este, of Mantua, ranked high for intellect. One portrait ought to have been mentioned in this connection, that of the highly gifted Irene of Spilimberg, which, together with one of her sister Emilia, is in the possession of Count Maniago;

but unfortunately it is not known to the author. Pictures like that of the girl in red, in the Dresden Gallery, or the so-called portrait of Caterina Cornaro, in the Uffizi, certainly from a Titian original, offer not the smallest personal interest. It is as if behind such unmoved features there dwelt neither soul nor mind. We involuntarily think of Taine's words before the "Venus and Cupid" in the Uffizi: "C'est le sérieux vide et l'immobilité d'âme d'un animal au repos qui attend."

For nearly forty-four years, throughout the period of his maturest art, Titian was actively employed for the House of Hapsburg. It was in 1530 that he first came into connection with Charles V., and from that time, with a few interruptions, worked for him till his abdication. His relations with Philip II. began in 1548 and lasted till the end of his life. Hardly six months before his death Titian wrote his last letter to the King, the last piece of writing, in fact, that we have of his. Throughout this long period he almost always had work in hand to execute for Philip. Besides this he was employed for Mary of Hungary, for King Ferdinand, and his son the Emperor Maximilian II.

No royal house collected together a greater number of Titian's pictures than did the Spanish Hapsburgs. We cannot look through the inventories of them without emotion when we reflect how many have been lost to us in the fires at the Pardo and the Alcazar. Pictures were there belonging to Charles V.; the celebrated collection of portraits owned by Queen Mary of Hungary, mostly the family portraits painted at Augsburg; finally, the works

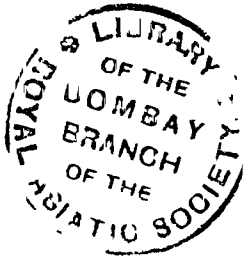
executed by Philip's orders. What a wonderful sight that great hall of the Castle of Pardo must have presented with its forty-five portraits, eleven of them from the hand of Titian, the rest by Antonio Moro and Sanchez Coello! The King had personally selected the pictures. Here, in the midst of this illustrious company, was Titian's likeness of himself which represented him with the portrait of King Philip in his hand; it was this that gave it the right to a place in Philip's cabinet (Justi). Notwithstanding that the royal collection was reduced by the first great fire and by occasional presents to great personages—for instance, Charles I. of England, on his journey to seek a bride in 1623, took home with him the "Jupiter and Antiope" (Louvre), the "Girl in Fur" (Vienna), and the portrait of Charles V. with the hound (Madrid)—the collection remained still large, and was increased when opportunity offered. The palace inventory of 1686 enumerates no fewer than seventy-six Titians; probably all of these were not genuine. And even to-day, in spite of losses, the gallery at Madrid can boast of possessing by far the greatest number of pictures by the Cadore Master, even if only half of the fifty mentioned in the catalogue are by his own hand.

One of these lost works we must specially notice. In an inventory of the pictures in the palace at Madrid, drawn up about the year 1600, one portrait is included as that of "Juan Albin pintor inglés," and in 1636 was stated to be hanging in an ante-chamber to Philip IV.'s sleeping apartment. We may venture to suppose that under this curious name was really meant Hans Holbein, whose long residence in England easily explains the surname bestowed on him. A short description of the picture runs as follows:

"with long hair, the shirt open at the throat (la camisa descubierta por los hombros), the coat of a silver colour." An inscription in the background reads "Ticianus fecit." This may have been a copy by Titian of a portrait of Holbein by himself. From what we know of their lives it is almost out of the question that the two artists can have met; but it is possible that Titian saw this picture at Augsburg. If this supposition be true this copy will testify to the unusual respect Titian felt for the art of Holbein, in whom he may have recognised his greatest rival.

It was in May 1553 that a rumour of Titian's death reached Brussels. Charles V. at once sent Francesco Vargas, his ambassador in Venice, a note, dated May 31, to inquire the truth of this and to ask if certain portraits which, on his departure from Augsburg, he had commissioned the artist to paint had been completed. In his reply on June 30 the ambassador was able to state that Titian was alive and well, and had spoken to him about the picture of the "Trinity." The artist promised to complete it by September, and showed Vargas also a picture of the "Noli me tangere," destined for Queen Mary—this has perished all except a fragment in the Prado. The "Trinity" however, was still on hand a year later, because, as Titian assured the Emperor, "he had twice or three times effaced the work of many days, wishing to be quite satisfied himself with the picture." At last, in October 1554, it was ready to be sent to Brussels. The picture of "Mary as the Mother of Sorrows," mentioned before, was sent off at once to the Emperor.

It was at their last parting that the Emperor commissioned Titian to paint the "Trinity," destined even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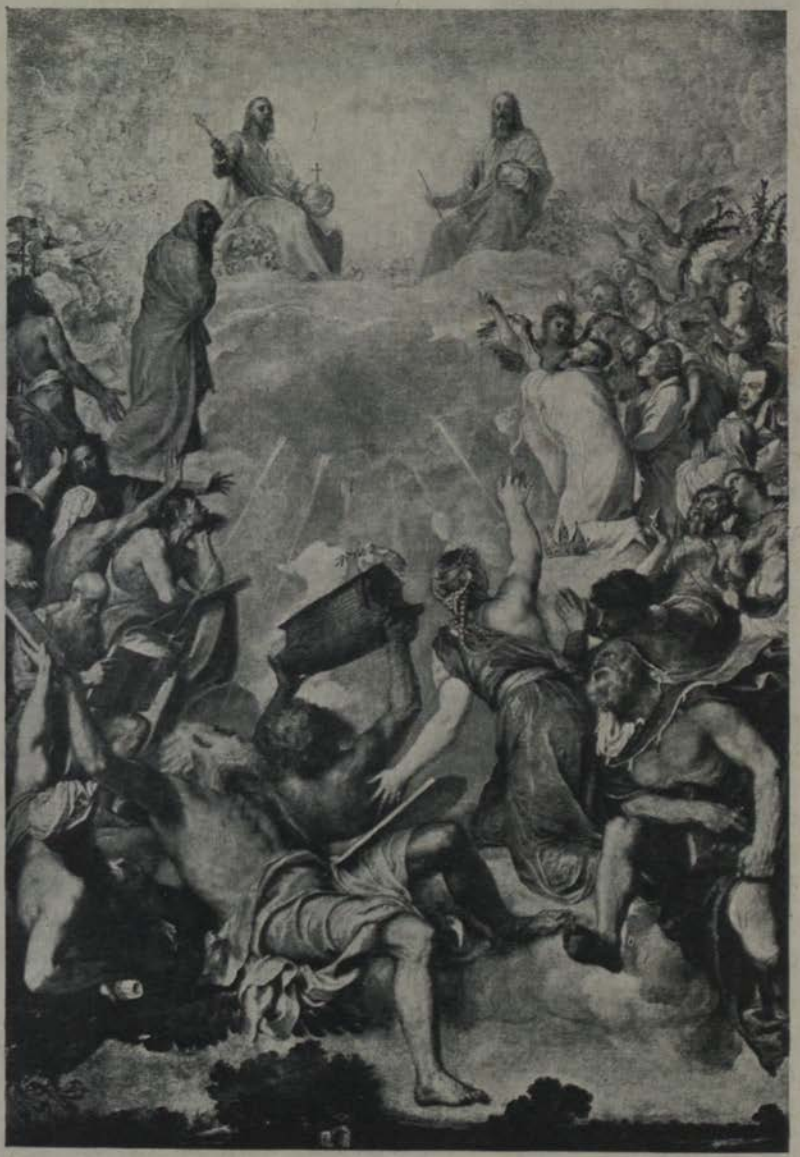

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THE HOLY TRINITY (LA GLORIA)

PRADO, MADRID

then, according to Vasari, for the convent in which he meant to close his days. The Emperor himself called the picture "The Last Judgment"; later it received the title "La Gloria," which it still bears in the Prado.

God the Father and Christ are enthroned in a golden light, clad in light blue garments and bearing in Their hands orb and sceptre; between Their figures hovers the Dove, and an innumerable troup of angels surrounds Them in adoration. The group rises up like a vision, as if the clouds now resting at Their feet had just sunk down. Floating on clouds in a huge semi-circle, reaching low down on each side, the saints flock round the Trinity. The Virgin Mary is nearest to Christ, the only one who steps out from the circle, almost hidden under her blue mantle.

It is difficult for the eye to find a restful spot in this crowd of colossal figures, the foremost of which reach life size. We notice, almost in the centre, Moses, boldly represented, lying on clouds, a brownish figure with brilliant white hair, his head in profile sharply foreshortened; half hidden by him and seen from behind is Noah, holding up in his two arms the ark, on which the dove sits with the olive branch; to the right of them a lovely saint, her golden plaited hair hanging down her back, points upwards to the group, which, high up and small in proportion to the huge figures in the foreground, yet awakens the greatest interest. Charles V. kneels wrapped in his shroud, recommended by angels to the mercy of God, at his feet is his crown, and somewhat behind him is Isabella; and further back is Philip's figure, seen full in front, and Charles's sister Mary.

Titian was here given a task which would demand from the greatest painter the employment of his full powers. It

seems as if the Emperor in ordering this picture had dictated his will to the artist more explicitly than usual. Much may be thereby explained, as, for instance, the solemn enthronement together of the Father and the Son, which is very impressive, but is without example in contemporary Italian art. That Titian should be able to conceive and carry out the picture thus at his advanced age, shows strikingly how much youthful vigour there still was in his artistic powers. The thought recurs that here he had in memory Michelangelo's "Last Judgment." It is to the Florentine's gigantic forms, if to anything in Italian art, that these representatives of the old Covenant in Titian's picture may be compared. They too are of colossal, superhuman proportions, and yet, as with Michelangelo's figures, we believe in their reality. Never has the Master's often criticised realism been more amply justified by success than in this picture. Each of the highly complicated attitudes is carefully studied from life, and astonishing in its truth to nature. In spite of the crowding and pressing together of the figures, there seems to be space and air enough for all. They show a variety of expression, which far excels what the Master produced in the celebrated creations of his earlier years, as, for instance, in the "Assumption."

It is especially difficult to give any idea of the colouring. The stronger details become merged in the general tone given to the picture by the wonderfully rich and graduated bank of cloud. Everything is arranged so as to make the part most distant from the spectator—where are the Persons of the Trinity—dominate the picture. There all is light, and this gradually spreads to the middle and darker parts, which are treated in light and shade and cleverly balanced against each other. At the bottom, near the lower edge

of the picture, hangs a mass of cloud; only one narrow strip remains free, and this Titian has filled in with a splendid landscape stretching away into the distance of hills and trees, in the shadow of which stands a chapel with here and there some figures. Here Titian with the greatest daring lets one leg of the Moses hang down over the bank of clouds right into the "earthly" sky. The effect of this bit of landscape is to make the apparition of holy beings pass upward into the highest regions of heaven; there no glance, no sound of earth, can penetrate. By the simplest process Titian here attains a high ideal.

Those who like general comparisons may turn their eyes from Titian's "Trinity" to Albert Dürer's cognate creation, his picture of "All Saints," which was produced more than forty years earlier, in 1511, as the pious bequest of a Nüremberg burgher. In arrangement, composition, and the relation of the figures to the landscape the two pictures are in many ways alike; but how different is the conception in details, the structure, the colouring, and general effect; what is common to both making just these points wherein they differ stand out strongly!

Charles V. kept the "Trinity" with him to the end of his life. It was among the small number of pictures, mostly by Titian, which he took with him from Brussels to Spain in 1556, and which accompanied him into his solitude at Yuste. In the codicil to his will of September 9, 1558, in which he expressed the wish to be buried in the convent, he directs that "The Last Judgment" shall be placed above the high altar. By Philip's orders it accompanied the body of the Emperor to the Escurial, where till the beginning of the last century the picture still remained. Thus this last important work executed

by Titian for his imperial master brings once more to our memory the close relations which existed for more than twenty years between the great prince and the great painter.

Philip II. was a connoisseur in art of no mean order. He attracted into his service the foremost masters of his time. "He understands something of sculpture and painting, and takes pleasure in both, occasionally exercising himself therein," so writes in 1557 the Venetian ambassador, Badoaro. Justi in his fine essay on "Philip II. as a patron of art" gives the following appreciation of the King's artistic taste: "His interest was, so far as we can see, free from secondary objects of a less noble nature, in a word—genuine."

For Charles V. Titian, for the most part, had been required to paint portraits and pictures on religious themes. Philip II. began by commissioning him to execute a series of mythological subjects. Once again the romantic region of ancient legend attracted him more than it had ever done since the happy days of his youth, when he gave expression to an exuberant joy in the pleasures of life in the series of Bacchanalian pictures he painted for Alfonso of Ferrara. But his eye had changed, and his hand had grown accustomed to another method of painting, so that he now sought to express himself in a different way from that of thirty years before. His subject no longer interested him because it invited him to celebrate joy and pleasure and beauty, but because it offered him a splendid opportunity to portray nude figures in a variety of movement in the open air, the play of light on human forms,

the blending of contour into atmosphere. It is the glorious inauguration of Titian's supreme mastery of his craft.

He first painted for Philip that Danae already mentioned, now in the Prado, and at the end of 1554, as a pendant to this, the "Venus and Adonis," of which the best version is also in the Prado. A "Perseus and Andromeda" and "Jason and Medea" were to follow and complete the adornment of the royal apartment. The first of these two came to light three years ago at Hertford House, the last has been lost. In 1559 the King received the two pictures of "Actæon and Diana" and "Diana and Callisto" (Bridgewater House, London). In the letter announcing the completion of these pictures Titian mentions that the "Rape of Europa" and "Actæon torn by his dogs" had been begun. The first was sent to Spain in 1562, and passed in 1896 from the collection at Cobham Hall to that of Mrs. Gardner at Boston; of the second picture there is no mention. In 1571 the "Tarquinius and Lucretia" was sent to the King, and is probably a picture now in the Wallace collection, but not known to the author. Finally, Titian painted for Philip II. at some time or other the "Venus of Pardo" (Jupiter and Antiope); in the Louvre.

In the "Venus and Adonis" the moment of parting is chosen, when the goddess is trying to hold back her lover. She is clinging to him while he endeavours to withdraw from her embrace; he looks down at her, and at the same time hurries on, controlling his powerful dogs with a firm hand. Venus is turned towards Adonis so that her beautiful back is displayed. The lovely lines of her figure and the contrast between her bright flesh colouring and the brown form of Adonis give the chief charm to this picture, which

is the least satisfactory of the series. All round is landscape; Adonis stands out against a cloudy sky; to the left, under a group of thick trees, Cupid is sleeping, with chequered lights falling through the branches upon him.

Some fault may also be found with Titian's Andromeda (known to the author only by the photograph). The attitude of the principal figure is forced and affected; but yet, what magic effects of light there are in the landscape and on the tempestuous sea and the sky heavy with clouds. In the distance, as if to calm down the elements and the emotion they call forth, the sun is seen sinking to rest. Here Titian's hand lays everything under the spell of his magic colouring.

Far bolder and finer are the two pictures taken from the myth of Diana. The goddess and her nymphs are gathered round a fountain whose water flows down into a stream running through meadows. Trees to the right, and at the back a lofty stone archway enclose their open bathing-place without shutting out the view of distant mountains. The sky is dark blue and the light warm as in a summer's day; there is great splashing in the water and much lively movement among the maidens who gather round the fountain and stream, and delight in the refreshing coolness. Suddenly to the left appears young Actæon, followed by his dogs. He stands still in astonishment, the bow slips from his hand, and then what a commotion there is! The nymphs flee, trying to hide themselves. Diana, whose foot is being dried by an attendant maiden, hides herself behind some white drapery, and a black maid tries to lift up the purple garment on which she is sitting. A little dog runs at the intruder barking.

In the second picture we have a glorious summer's day,

Mansell

PERSEUS AND ANDROMEDA

HERTFORD HOUSE, LONDON

over a broad luxuriant hilly country, stretching as far as the eye can reach. On the edge of a forest, under thick foliage, sits the goddess of the chase, a nude figure, in the midst of her troop of companions, and at her command the nymphs are tearing off the guilty Callisto's garment. She struggles, but in vain. Unmoved at what is going on, the marble youth at the summit of the fountain pours out the water unceasingly from a stone jug in a silvery streak into the brook dividing the two principal groups.

Nude forms in open air under the play of bright sunlight and warm half shadow were never painted with more skill than in these works of the aged artist, whose eye detected effects no one had noticed before him. We involuntarily ask the question: Did Titian study them from life or was it his strong power of imagination which called them into being? The question, without the help of any sort of tradition, cannot be answered.

The "Rape of Europa" (known to the author only by a photograph) gave Titian the opportunity for a splendid bit of sea painting. Europa lies at full length in a most daring, almost ugly, attitude on the back of the bull, who advances cutting through the water. Amor, carried by a dolphin, follows the god; high up in the air are little Amoretti brandishing bows and arrows, and Europa looks up at them while she holds on anxiously to the horn of the bull. With her right hand she tries to catch hold of the fluttering yellow garment spread out behind her like a sail, and her arm throws her face into shadow. All round is the blue-green sea, and running off into the distance is the hilly green shore, from which the companions of the captive gaze after her lamenting.

The best qualities of Titian's earlier years, his freshness

and freedom and cheerful grasp of nature, combined with the mature artistic powers he now possessed to produce the "Venus del Pardo," the greatest among his mythological pictures. The foreground of it is divided into two unequal parts by the stem of a tree. At the entrance to a wood Antiope sleeps, watched secretly by Jupiter in the form of a satyr, a brownish shaggy creature with goat's feet, horns, and pointed ears. As he is about gently to draw aside the light covering over the nymph he looks up and sees the winged god of love in the act of shooting an arrow at him. Into this quiet scene suddenly burst from the left the noise of horns and the shouts of a young hunter, who holds his hounds in leash and urges on his companion who is blowing the horn. Undisturbed by the hunters a wood-god, with a wreath on his head, is sitting near the stem of a tree, and beside him is the lovely rounded form of a nymph who holds some flowers in her lap.

So little does Titian here care to conceal that the mythological theme was for him only an excuse for a splendid picture of nature, that he has placed two scenes side by side which, in a certain sense, must exclude one another. But the fawn and the satyr, the huntsmen, and not least the bright female forms, combine so wonderfully in colour with the green landscape, become so united with the nature around them, that we feel we cannot spare one of these figures.

Around them Titian has created the most splendid landscape of all the many that we owe to him. A retired woodland meadow opens on the right into a luxuriant valley, in the middle of which a river falls in a broad cascade, and which in the far distance is bordered by blue mountain crests. The warm sunshine of a bright day

gives to meadow and wood a festive splendour. Between the tree trunks are animals of the chase; near the river hounds have brought to bay a noble stag.

The tender lovely piece of landscape reminds us so strongly of the ideal which was Titian's thirty years before the production of this picture, that we cannot help asking whether an older picture, for some reason left unfinished and now taken up again, may not really have been the groundwork for this one. The sleeping Antiope has the attitude and form of Giorgione's Venus, which Titian as a younger man imitated in his "Venus of Urbino." The treatment in colour seems, on the other hand, to point to his later period, although we have some difficulty in connecting it with the technique in the other mythological works. In any case, the "Antiope," from the softness in transitions and the artistic modelling of the figures, is one of the most perfect creations of the Master. We understand why this picture has been prized above all others. It is related that when Philip III. heard the news of the fire at the Prado, his first question was about this picture. "That is a comfort," said he when he heard it was saved, "for the rest can be replaced." (V. Carducho.)

In these mythological pictures Titian gave to King Philip his maturest and most perfect works of art, works to which he devoted himself with pleasure and artistic zeal. Here every touch is his own; for no one but he was capable of calculating with such delicacy the effect of each stroke of colour. The same cannot be said of the numerous sacred pictures he produced during this period by Philip's order, and in which we may suppose his pupils helped considerably.

Under Philip II. all Titian's works on sacred subjects, twenty-six in number, were collected in the Escurial. To-day a few are to be found in the same place, amongst them many replicas of his celebrated works, such as "John in the Wilderness" and the "Martyrdom of St. Lawrence." The "Last Supper," which was finished in 1564, after seven years of work, repeated an older composition of the Master's, which had adorned the refectory of San Giovanni e Paolo in Venice, but had been destroyed by fire in 1571. In spite of a great amount of action and perfection in the details, in spite of its splendid broad landscape background seen behind the central group where the hall opens through a huge arch (unfortunately cut off at the top) the whole picture fails to inspire enthusiasm. Leonardo's great work has evidently supplied some of the motives; these we would gladly ascribe to pupils, as also the affected construction of some of the figures. The picture has suffered considerable damage, and thereby has lost much of its original character.

Some sacred pictures, preserved now in the Prado, are much more impressive, such as the "St. Margaret" (1552), the "Entombment" (1559), and the "Fall of Man." In the first of these it is the landscape portion that again displays the greatest power. The brown rocks on the left, and the flames which in the far distance are destroying a town, form a low-toned background for the figure of the saint, and the colours harmonise with the olive-green garment clinging round her. Her attitude is remarkable; the upper part of her body and both her arms turn to the right, but at the sight of the dragon at her feet they are half drawn back again in the opposite direction.

The "Entombment" is full of impassioned movement,

to which a gloomy broken-up colouring gives expression. Joseph and Nicodemus are letting the Lord's body down into the sarcophagus, turned slanting towards the beholder. Mary is bending for the last time over her dead Son, Whose left arm she holds; further back are St. John and the Magdalen. Never has grief been expressed in a more simple and truly artistic manner. We are led by slow gradation from the two old men who are sorrowful but calm, to the Blessed Virgin, whose pathetic attitude is indescribable; her countenance scarcely appears from under her mantle, and is almost entirely wrapped in shadow; but how her eyes are striving in this supreme moment to imprint on her heart the form of her Son. Then there is St. John, who is wringing his hands, and the climax in the Magdalen, who seems to be coming hastily up and bends down to gaze for one moment longer in the face of Christ, raising her arms—the first idea, as it were, of that noble figure of the Magdalen in the Master's last picture. A cliff and a cloudy sky form the background. For brilliancy in colouring and quiet beauty of composition this "Entombment" cannot compare with the celebrated picture in the Louvre; and yet we cannot help thinking that a grand power of expression has given to these few figures something eternal, the purest human feeling interpreted with a truth and tenderness which show the fullest experience alike in life and in art.

Lastly comes, a very late work, the "Fall of Man"; when produced is not exactly known. Here the two nude forms are placed against a vast expanse of sky and a landscape vaguely indicated. Adam, sitting at the foot of a tree, gently tries to stop Eve, who is just taking the apple from the tempter, in form half a child and half a serpent. The

longing look of the woman, her attitude of hesitation, the gesture of the man and his expression, reproduce exactly the words of the Bible. The purely pictorial qualities of the picture are exceedingly fine; the softened outline almost making the figures melt into the air, the broad treatment of the dark foliage against the sky, the little bit of landscape distance, all foreshadow great problems in art, still in progress of solution in the present day, and which we only care partially to understand. Sadly deteriorated by damage, this work still arouses our respect for the Master's pictorial genius, the development of which never ceased to the very end of his life.

Now at his most advanced age Titian, by the will of the King, was compelled to enter a region of art—Allegory—which hitherto he had scarcely touched, and which would hardly appeal to his strong sense of reality, or suit his constant endeavour to give expression to what he had seen in nature. So though he succeeded even here in producing forms full of life, his genius was not able to render that part of the subject, which lay outside the domain of art, in a manner satisfactory to the modern beholder.

When Vasari visited Titian's studio in 1566, among other unfinished works to be found there was a mythological picture of a nude female figure bending before Minerva, with Neptune appearing on the sea in the background. This picture had been destined for Alfonso of Ferrara, but as he died before it was finished Titian had left it incomplete. He incorporated this composition into "Religion," the first of the two pictures which Philip II. commissioned him to paint to celebrate in art his zeal for the faith, and which were not sent to the King till 1575, many years after the battle of Lepanto. This picture is

now in the Prado, and is called "Religion defended by Spain." A beautiful large female figure, almost nude, is sitting at the foot of a tree and bending humbly before a noble woman, who steps towards her, holding in her right hand a shield with the arms of Spain and in her left a standard; she wears a breastplate, and is accompanied by women bearing arms. Weapons of all sorts lie on the ground at the feet of the representative of Spain. What Religion is to be defended from is indicated by the heads of serpents hissing behind her, and by the appearance out on the broad sea of a Turk drawn in a chariot by sea-horses and pursued by galleys.

The power of Spain comes to the help of Religion, who is threatened by the hydra of unbelief; the power of Spain is to win back from the Turk the dominion of the sea. This, no doubt, is the meaning. Titian did his best to make it clear; he created lovely forms, full of life and movement. The allegorical figures of Spain and of "Faith" are excellently contrasted in character both by attitude and expression. We almost fancy that the mythological import of the original composition can still be traced, as if the artist had by its means found out the way to understand what, for his nature, was an uncongenial task. He might have depicted a captive Andromeda under much the same form as he has given to Faith, and the figure representing Spain is Minerva appearing to help her, and we may imagine we see Neptune on the sea till we notice his Turkish costume. The painting of the picture enhances its effectiveness; the figures stand out softly against the background; the brilliancy of the metal and the lively movement in the water are splendidly rendered.

This allegory was intended to express the designs of

Philip, and the next allegorical composition was to celebrate his success. The victory of Lepanto in 1571 forms its historical background. The King himself is represented in full armour in front of a portico, standing by an altar-table covered with red velvet, lifting up in both hands a naked little boy, the Infante, who was born just two months after the battle took place. An angel flies rapidly down from heaven, strongly foreshortened, a laurel branch and palms in his hand, and he offers the infant the branch round which flutters a ribbon with the device, "Maiora tibi." In the foreground to left a half-clad Turk sits in chains on the ground; behind him lie a quiver with arrows, a shield, and a great Turkish horn. Far away on the sea the Turkish fleet is seen in flames.

A Spanish writer relates that Sanchez Coello, by Philip's orders, painted a sketch of the composition, as also a portrait of the King, and that both were sent to Titian for him to take as the groundwork of his picture. As a matter of fact, Titian did have relations indirectly with the above-named Spanish painter, whose brother, Hieronymo Sanchez, was in Venice in 1575 with a view to treating with Titian. At that time, however, the "Allegory," which the envoy from Urbino saw him painting in May 1575, must already have been finished. The picture betrays something of a distaste felt by the artist for his subject. Still, many parts of it are very fine, the pictorial treatment is broad and seems improvised; some strong reds in the foreground contrast wonderfully with the flames and smoke in the distance; the figure of the angel is full of vigorous movement. Titian's powers were not failing, but at his age even he was not able to cope with such a new class of subject.

He had begun for King Philip with mythology; he was to end his work for him with allegories and pictures of saints. There is so much life and power in his creations, so far as he carried them out himself, that they bear eloquent witness to the unabated vigour of his hand as well as to his devotion to the King. In his last letter to Philip, dated February 1576, he recalls in touching words the many works ("fatiche") he had executed for the House of the Hapsburgs, and expresses the hope of serving him for the remainder of his life.

CHAPTER IX

LAST WORKS IN VENICE. TITIAN'S DEATH

His advanced age and his European reputation gave Titian a very exalted position in his own city. It was well known in Venice how closely connected he was with the Emperor and Philip II; their envoys were seen passing in and out of his house. According to Vasari, there was no nobleman of repute, no prince or lady of rank, who did not desire to be painted by Titian, and no one of importance came to Venice without visiting the Master's studio, sitting to him for a portrait, or ordering a picture from him. And naturally much attention was attracted by the visit King Henry III. of France paid to the Master in the very midst of the gorgeous festivities prepared for him by the Signoria when he passed through Venice in 1574 on his way from Poland to take possession of his new kingdom. It was rumoured that the monarch had in vain offered to Paolo d'Anna the sum of 800 ducats for the great "Ecce Homo."

Titian's health and power of work seemed really not to be shaken. If we look at his likeness of himself in the Prado, taken in his extreme old age, we notice the traces of years. His beard is white, and there are wrinkles across the brow and at the corners of the eyes. But his

bearing is firm and erect, his eye undimmed, with a far-away look in it. His right hand holds his paint-brush. The touching expression of the face betrays tragic moments in the inner life of the Master, the existence of which the brightness pervading his creations would hardly lead us to suspect.

But by degrees he too had to pay his tribute to advancing years. Cardinal Granvella, in 1568, speaks of him as "very failing." It was well known that he allowed his pupils more and more to work with him at the pictures that were ordered, and he even did little to them in proportion himself. "Every one says," so relates a Bavarian agent, in 1568, to Fugger, of Augsburg, "that he can no longer see what he is doing, and his hand trembles so that he has difficulty in putting finishing touches, and leaves it to his assistants. He has a German, named Emanuel, in the house, an excellent man, who does much of his work for him, to which he adds a stroke or two of the brush, and then sells as his own."

Against this unfavourable testimony, prompted possibly by commercial ill-will, may be set the number and variety of the works which in the last twenty years or so of his life came out of Titian's studio, not counting the pictures for the King of Spain. They fill us with astonishment; it is certain that not a few of them may be claimed as authentic, and their very high average of quality shows the unaltered power of his hand. He himself still trusted in his own capability of undertaking the most extensive works. It was in October 1564 that he concluded an agreement at Brescia by which he undertook to paint for the great room in the Town Hall three octagonal ceiling pictures, each of the size of a hundred square ells.

Four years later he had painted the pictures. The subject of the central panel was an allegorical glorification of the town of Brescia, the details of which had been carefully supplied to him beforehand; the two others represented "Vulcan's Forge" and "Ceres and Bacchus." The purchasers, it is true, were not satisfied with the pictures, asserting that they were not by Titian's own hand. In any case, the composition of "Vulcan's Forge," which has been preserved for us in a print by Cornelius Cort, shows grand and bold drawing in the figures, recalling the "Prometheus" and "Sisyphus" in the Prado. These ceiling pictures were destroyed by fire as early as 1575.

Titian's time was also much occupied with his engagements outside Venice. For the parish church of Medole, between Brescia and Mantua, of which his son Pomponio, and later a nephew, had charge, he painted the subject of "Christ in Glory appearing to the ascended Virgin Mary"; behind the Saviour, stepping back into shadow, are Adam holding the Cross and Eve; between Christ and Adam are seen the heads of Abraham and Noah. Heaven is the stage on which these figures in vigorous action are assembled, and the effect produced is described with admiration by those who have seen the picture; the author, unfortunately, does not know it. It still adorns the high altar of the Church of Santa Maria at Medole.

The altar-pictures at Ancona and Ascoli also belong to Titian's latest time, and show the tendency in his palette to sombre harmony of colour and his increased power of expressing the grandest life and action in the figures. Here we see the Saviour on the Cross, while St. Dominic, for whose church the picture was destined, is kneeling and embracing His feet. It is now in the little gallery of the

town. To the left is Mary in deep but quiet sorrow; to the right the powerful form of St. John, who gazes up in grief at his Lord, spreading out his arms. Across the gloomy sky white clouds are floating; the effect of light is as if a sharp ray of sunshine were bursting from an overcast sky. The body of Christ, the head of St. John, and the hands of St. Dominic are brought out in wonderful vividness from the gloom around them. The picture at Ascoli, painted in 1561 (not known by the author), represents St. Francis receiving the stigmata, with the donor, Desiderio Guido, present on his knees.

Besides these Titian occasionally painted pictures, mostly of smaller dimensions, for persons of rank. As we find from his correspondence, he remained on terms of intimacy with some of his former patrons. Between the years 1564 and 1567 he painted some pictures for the Duke of Urbino, amongst them a "Christ" and a "Madonna"; then in 1573 he apparently had another commission for an important picture, which was sent off the following year. But it is not possible to determine which these pictures were, nor where they are now to be found. In 1573 he sent to the Duke of Alva a "Magdalen" and a "Bellona," "that your Highness may have some work of mine of these years, as you have some of an earlier time." In return he was to receive a hundred ells of stuff wherewith to adorn some rooms in his house.

With the House of Gonzaga also and with the Farnese Titian's connection was kept up by occasional commissions. In the autumn of 1561 he painted for Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga a small picture—the equestrian portrait of Sultan Soliman—for which he used a sketch sent him by Marin Cavalli, Venetian Consul at Constantinople.

To his old patron, Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, he sent, in 1567, a picture of the penitent Magdalen, begging him at the same time to convey to the Pope Pius V. as a present a copy of the "Peter Martyr," which he despatched with it. This "Magdalen" may be identified with one in the gallery at Naples, and is a replica of his splendid work in the Palazzo Pitti, but with important alterations. In this later version Titian's composition has often been repeated; there is a very good version of it, to judge by the photograph, at the Hermitage. While the attitude of the penitent is taken from the earlier picture, her ample form in this is hidden by a white garment and a blue and red striped robe; hence the greatest charm of the original—the soft cascade of red golden hair over the rounded form—is not found here. On the other hand, the later work is far superior to the other in depth and power of expression. Not only does the gesture here express, as in the first work, repentance and self-abnegation, but we see in the eyes a passionate devotion we look for in vain in the Pitti picture. A broad piece of landscape is merely indicated, and yet it spreads a glow of late evening light with perfect effect over the whole.

There is much obscurity concerning the production of some later mythological works, presumably destined for princely admirers, and which set forth Titian's powers in his last years in the highest light. In the "Education of Cupid," in the Borghese Gallery, called by mistake the "Graces" ever since the seventeenth century, he treats a mythological theme with as much mind as originality. Venus, represented as a dignified beauty, is placing a bandage round the eyes of a little god of love who is half lying in her lap, while she turns her head round to the

D. Anderson

THE EDUCATION OF CUPID

BORGHESE GALLERY, ROME

boy Amor who is standing behind her, and, leaning against her with a charming child-like gesture, watches what she is doing. Two beautiful women come forward on the right and bring the quiver with the arrows and the bow.

If we can carry in our eye the method of painting and the colour effects in the "Sacred and Profane Love," and then pass on in the same gallery to this picture, we may well at first doubt if we are really looking at a work of Titian's. Where is the quiet, tender brilliancy, the soft beauty of figures and landscape? Here all has become colossal, the women are of heroic build, the children of powerful frame, a deep glow of colour, such as we notice during a storm, is spread over the whole surface of the picture, and by strokes laid boldly on close together the local colours are almost softened off into it. The landscape stretching away to distant mountains is painted so as to give a perfect impression of space, but if looked into closely is an undefined something put together out of a few tones of colour. Produced at the opposite ends of Titian's artistic career, the Borghese pictures are each masterpieces of the period to which they belong; and we may here ask the question if it was not a necessary development of artistic insight which led Titian on from the careful execution in the first picture to the breadth and grandeur of the last.

Closely allied to the "Education of Cupid" appears the "Venus with the Mirror," repeated several times by Titian himself—once for Cardinal Granvella—the popularity of which is attested by numerous replicas; the best of these, to judge by the photograph, is at the Hermitage. The goddess, resembling the type of the Venus of the Tribuna,

is of heroic frame, as in the Borghese picture. The features are noble, with dark eyes under delicately arched eyebrows; the head is crowned with a plait of golden hair intertwined with pearls. A red mantle trimmed with fur hangs round her hips and over her right shoulder. To the left is a brownish-green curtain. Venus is looking at her reflection in a mirror which two winged boys, of the same powerful proportions as the Amorini in the "Education of Cupid," have with much exertion placed before her. The dignity of the goddess is not affected by the somewhat commonplace motive of the toilet. She remains quite unconcerned, as if no eye could see her, and lays her hand with an apparently involuntary movement on her breast.

The picture "Nymph and Shepherd" (Vienna Gallery) leads us from the realm of mythology into that of the idyll. It is a clever improvisation; the broad and blurred strokes of Titian's manner of painting are seen more strongly than ever; some parts have been left unfinished. This adds enormously to the power—the "brio"—in this work of genius. Here is a grand landscape: on rocky ground is seen the lower part of a magnificent tree; in the middle distance a withered stem: to the right a perspective such as Claude Monet might have painted. A nude maiden lies on the skin of an animal with her back to the spectator, and listens, her head half turned towards him, to the words of a shepherd with a wreath of leaves on his head, who is about to set a shepherd's pipe to his mouth. Here we again have that strange combination of nude and clothed figures in a landscape for which Giorgione, in one of his last pictures, had given an exquisitely beautiful model. With him the idyll strikes a note of calm restraint; with Titian inward passion seemed to burst

forth violently, rousing to animation both man and nature and imperiously demanding this increased dramatic expression in colour. Titian gives us, in the gloomy grandeur of this idyll, a contrast to the brilliant radiancy of Giorgione's "Concert," in the Louvre. And as if he could not shake himself free from old associations whenever he enters a region into which Giorgione was the first to venture, we here again discover a reminiscence—the right hand of the shepherd is identical with that of the "Shepherd with the Flute," the half-length picture by the Master of Castelfranco at Hampton Court.

How in Titian's later years everything resolves itself for him into a colour problem may be especially seen from the few portraits of this period preserved to us. The "Man with a Palm Branch," of the year 1561 (Dresden Gallery), the Imperial Antiquary, Jacopo Strada, of the year 1568 (Vienna Gallery), and to these may be added the Saint Dominic (Borghese Gallery). The broad artistic treatment is common to all; in all too we find some detail quietly left in an unfinished condition; outward accidents in the texture of the canvas are made use of for certain effects, and so on. In the Borghese picture we may instance the technique of modern painters, such as Courbet or Leibl, to give a precise idea of this bold style of painting, absolutely certain in its aim. The serious looking man in the Dresden portrait, dressed in black, with only a bit of dark blue on his sleeve, from which his slender hand shows silvery in tone, is placed against a brownish wall with changeful lights upon it; to the left, where on the balustrade of the window a colour box and palette knife are lying, we have an extended view, one of Titian's delicious bits of distance, made up of a few touches

of colour—blue, brown, yellow, and some red; a dark tree is seen against the evening sky, where the last rays of sunlight tip the edge of the clouds.

Strada is full of animation, as if in his studio; with both hands he holds a statuette of Venus, and seems to be explaining to some one its artistic value. The light catches his red silk sleeves appearing from a black doublet and melts the colour into brilliancy; over his shoulder hangs loosely the broad white fur trimming of his mantle; gold chain and sword are introduced into the picture to give the somewhat ordinary looking man the appearance of one of the great ones of the earth. His eye is penetrating and full of power. The wrinkles in his face are laid softly on to the flesh tone; a spot of light models the brow, half of which, to the left, is in slight shadow.

Finally, in his "St. Dominic," Titian gives full expression to the intellectual qualities of a reserved character. The bearded head with the furrowed brow and the emaciated face are overshadowed by the cowl. The white of the eyes, the strongest speck of light in the picture, shines out brilliantly, while the eyes, gazing meditatively into the distance, betray thoughts which are far away from the things of earth. With a deep insight into the saint's nature, Titian gives in this figure an image of spiritual power; at the same time, in the black and white of the cowl, a grand harmony of colour as simple and refined as it is beautiful.

How could the artist's fellow citizens witness his untiring labours without feeling a wish to make as much use themselves as possible of his powers? First the State laid

frequent claims upon him. One of his official duties was, it is true, taken from him in 1560 and handed over to younger men, first to Girolamo di Tiziano, afterwards to Tintoretto. This was the execution of the portraits of the Doges for the Palace, after the aged painter himself had only five years previously painted that of Francesco Venier. On the other hand, it was to him that were given the commissions for most of the votive pictures of that date, and he finished at the beginning of 1555 a picture of the Doge Marcantonio Trevisan, kneeling before the Madonna in company with four saints, which, together with his other works for the Palace, have been destroyed.

Titian was still occupied with this picture when a resolution was passed in the Council of Ten to honour by an important composition the memory of a Doge deceased long before. This resolution is dated March 22, 1555. It is hard to resist the temptation to speak here of the remarkable career of this man, Antonio Grimani, who, as Procurator of San Marco, and for the second time Captain-General of the Venetian fleet, lost the battle of Lepanto in 1499, was brought back as a prisoner to his native town and sent into exile. Ten years later he was again invested with the dignity of Procurator, was finally elected Doge in 1521, and died two years afterwards in the highest position in the State. As he was returning in the first year of his office to the Ducal Palace from the solemn "Andata" to San Giorgio Maggiore, he turned as he alighted to the ambassadors who were accompanying him and said, laughing: "My lords, it was on this spot that when I returned from my command they laid irons on my feet and sent me to prison, and now I am Doge of Venice!" In these words the old man summed up the tragedy in his life.

The Ten were paying a debt of long standing when, full thirty years after his death, they resolved to dedicate a picture to him. Though Titian at once put the work in hand, and got on with it, it was not finished so soon. Vasari saw the picture in 1566 in the Master's studio, and when Titian died it still stood there, for what reason we do not know. It is to this circumstance that we owe the fact that this composition is the only one of the kind that has been preserved. In the "Sala delle quattro porte" this picture, known as "Fede," has kept its place for nearly three centuries.

Surrounded by angels' heads in a golden glow of glory the figure of Faith floats slowly down on clouds, holding aloft in her right hand the cup, and with her left clasping an enormous cross which a boy angel is supporting. The wind plays gently with her long light hair and with the robe that in great folds surrounds her form. Her eyes under half-closed lids rest gently on the Doge, who in shining armour, with the ducal mantle round his shoulders, is kneeling and gazing up at her in faith and astonishment and raising his hands towards her. Beside him a kneeling boy holds the symbol of his dignity, the Doge's cap; two troopers behind him form the guard of honour. To the left St. Mark, at whose feet the Lion is resting, looks up from his book as the golden ray strikes him. Between these principal groups below the clouds Venice lies in the distance, floating in soft mist just as it appears in ever fresh beauty to those who come from the Lido.

The colour effect of the picture is very striking. The golden yellow in the centre on which rests the white robe of Faith shines like sunlight, surrounded by dark clouds.

To the left and right are strong masses of blue and red, which, compared with the lightness and limpidity of the rest, seem somewhat heavy. The golden yellow brocade of the Doge's mantle, the reddish purple of the boy's dress beside him, the glittering steel of the Doge's armour, are rendered with consummate art. In spite of this, and of some fine portions in the work—the figure of St. Mark is full of force and grandeur, and the floating motion of the "Faith" may be compared with a similar motive in the Sistine Madonna—the composition does not leave on us a satisfactory artistic impression. Perfect as a painting, rich in fine touches it is, but not a purely free creation of Titian's genius. Again we cannot help feeling that allegorical subjects were not his forte.

In the year 1559 Titian had undertaken as a commission from the State to finish, in conjunction with Sansovino, Cristoforo Rosa's ceiling decorations in the anteroom of St. Mark's Library, and to this time belongs the figure of Wisdom in an octagonal panel in the centre of that ceiling. Seated on clouds she glances up from a roll, in which she has been reading, to look into the book which a *putto* places before her. Her attitude slightly recalls that of Michelangelo's Delphic Sibyl; the introduction of the *putto*, however, reminds one of some motives of Raphael's, but the colouring is quite Titian's own, harmonised into one light silvery tone, to which are subdued the rose-coloured garment and the yellowish-green drapery round her hips. The tenderness of tone here attained by breaking up the local colour with broad masses of light may be compared with the most delicate pictorial effects in Paolo Veronese's pictures.

Much more important than these works for the State

are the great altar-pictures which Titian in these same years of his advanced age painted for churches in Venice. For the most part these last productions may still be found in the same churches, and in some cases over the same altars for which they were painted. It is in them that the Master has left to his country his artistic testament, those first solutions of great problems of lighting which for centuries since that time have occupied the greatest minds and in our day have led to new results and violent discussions.

Titian's second painting of the "Descent of the Holy Spirit," removed from Santo Spirito into the Church of the Salute, should come chronologically first, as it must certainly be considered contemporary with the "Trinity," or only a very little later. Here the problem for the artist was to make golden rays of light penetrate into the vaulted room. The rays shoot down from the Dove in a sea of light and dance in little tongue-like flames on the heads of the holy assembly, filled with enthusiasm and devotion. The intensest emotion is displayed in the foremost figures, the old man who half casts himself on the ground, the strong young man with uplifted arms, whose whole figure seems to rise to meet the divine messenger; in the central group the expression is calmer, where Mary, surrounded by women and old men in devout resignation, adores the Divinity. It is scarcely possible to describe how, with such rich variety corresponding to the diversity in the characters, the light that comes from the Dove gives the tone to the whole. Yellow and blue predominate, are introduced into the foreground in various nuances, such as golden orange, grey-blue, and so on, and carried on into the background; the blue, somewhat damaged in

several places, rather spoils the effect; the other local colours, such as red or green, are broken by violet or yellowish touches of light. A wonderful brightness fills the room, with some strong shadow to help the effect, in the figures of the apostles on either side.

Having devoted to the realisation of the splendour of light his "Descent of the Holy Spirit" and the almost contemporary composition of "Fede," the Master now followed them with his grand night scene, the "Martyrdom of St. Lawrence," which, probably at the end of the fifties, was painted for the Church of the Crociferi, and now hangs in the tasteless but elaborate building into which the Jesuits have transformed that church. The glowing flames under the gridiron, whereon the powerful form of St. Lawrence is laid, and torches fixed on the pedestal of a statue, light up with an uncertain glare the executioners, who are bringing forward wood and stirring up the fire, the soldiers, one of whom is thrusting a long fork into the martyr's side, while others prepare to deal him blows, and the standard-bearer who, surrounded by the bearers of the ensigns of the legion, is on his horse watching the scene. In the background a temple building rises up like a vision. In the midst of these figures in violent action Lawrence raises his eyes to where a star in the dusky heavens shines upon him in encouragement, and towards it, with his last strength, he lifts his arm. With the greatest art Titian has managed the various conflicting sources of light, and even in this obscure lighting has given clearness to the movements and wonderful life to each individual figure. Still, in the present day the work does not exercise the same powerful effect it did upon his contemporaries. The reason may be assigned to various causes; the picture has

grown much darker, and hangs inside a chapel where little light penetrates, and the eye has to grow accustomed to the blackness before it can distinguish details. We are thus hardly able to arrive at a full appreciation of this great work of art.

In some pictures the artist lays special stress on one single figure whose individuality he presents in a wonderful way. Such is the St. Nicholas of Bari (in San Sebastiano, 1563); here, half rising from his bishop's throne, he is represented in the act of delivering his blessing. His aged appearance, the feebleness of extreme old age, the uncertain trembling of his hand, are all rendered in such a masterly manner that this figure must certainly be ascribed to Titian himself, while the rest of the work bears evident marks of the assistance of his pupils. The picture is a harmony of brown and red, the snow-white hair of the old man forming the highest light in it. Then there is also the figure of St. James of Compostella (in San Lio), whose attitude and gestures express religious fervour; he is set against a broad landscape where a narrow strip of sky shows the last gleam of sunlight. Figure and landscape are both deserving of notice, but the picture is so dirty it is almost impossible to distinguish it. Finally, the greatest work of this period, the Christ in the "Transfiguration" over the high altar of San Salvatore. He has a thick beard and waving hair, and is gazing upwards, soaring aloft in a white garment, His form almost melting into the brilliancy of the glory around Him. This is the grandest of Titian's latest creations, and may be compared as a figure of Christ with the Saviour in the Tribute Money. Lighted up by the glow that radiates from Christ, Moses and Elias are adoring Him, and below are the

THE TRANSFIGURATION

SAN SALVATORE, VENICE

disciples, one of whom raises his powerful arm in adoration, thus cutting through the composition; the other turns aside dazzled, the third has fallen backwards. A strong red in this darker portion of the picture is quite subdued by the splendid force of the light in the upper part.

According to Vasari, Titian himself did not think this work of much value, and it is mostly dismissed with only a few words, showing it aroused no special interest. In our judgment this is one of the most powerful productions and masterpieces of painting that Titian has bequeathed to us. Any one who has seen the picture, as the author did, in a good light, which is not often to be had, and not half hidden by candles and bunches of flowers, will, he feels sure, acquiesce in this opinion. No less a judge than Rembrandt has paid a tribute of admiration to the picture, though it is difficult to imagine how he can have known it, by taking for his early "Transfiguration" in the Munich Pinakothek the figure of Titian's Christ.

For the same church of San Salvatore Titian painted for the last time the scene of the Annunciation, which so often, from his earliest days, recurs in his work. We no longer find in it that cheerful brightness he once chose for his picture in the cathedral at Treviso; now a special and peculiar lighting heightens the effect of a scene full of feeling. A bright light breaks through a heavy mass of cloud, angels and cherubs in energetic action hover in its radiancy and accompany the advancing archangel whose message Mary receives with a somewhat affected gesture. The contrast of brighter and more sombre lighting produces strong lights and heavy shadows, made deeper by time. The local colours are thereby subdued and grouped in masses.

A story is told which has a certain element of truth in it, that the purchasers were not satisfied with this work, as it did not seem to them finished enough, and that Titian in answer wrote on it a second time "fecit," which may still be read "Titianus fecit fecit." For us the point of this story is that many people in Venice were not able to follow the flight that Titian's genius took in his latest period, and that the same persons who most applauded the Master when he finished his works minutely, so that every hair might be counted, now objected to him when he laid on his strokes broadly and boldly without working them smoothly into each other, and in a masterly way let the individual tints merge into a splendid effect of colouring. Perhaps no picture unites these qualities more pleasingly than the Madonna giving the breast to her Infant, belonging to Titian's latest period, and now in the Mond collection in London. At the first glance we have an impression of strong local colour and of figures firmly and broadly put in —the natural eagerness of the Child has been most carefully observed—if we step nearer everything resolves itself into indistinguishable masses of colour, which pass freely one into the other, and leave the contours quite undefined. One would imagine it a work of Rembrandt's latest period, and it is he alone who can here be compared with Titian.

On one occasion Titian in his old age undertook to repeat a picture which had been painted by him some ten to fifteen years previously; in it he shows most clearly what it is on which his interest is now almost exclusively concentrated. About the year 1560 he had painted for the Church of Santa Maria delle Grazie, in Milan, a "Crowning with Thorns" (now in the Louvre), in which the daylight effect chosen brings out the painful sufferings of Christ

From a Carbon-print by Braun, Clément and Co., Dornach, Alsace

CROWNING WITH THORNS

LOUVRE, PARIS

Hanfstaengl

CROWNING WITH THORNS

PINAKOTHEK, MUNICH

and the brutal action of his tormentors with terrible realism. This composition the Master repeated, it appears, without receiving a commission for it, because the problem attracted him, and by the lighting he gave it made it a perfectly fresh creation (in the Pinakothek, Munich). Here the scene is illuminated from above by means of a lamp of five lights. Thus the indefiniteness and flickering are accounted for. We can only vaguely make out the entrance to the palace in the background, constructed of hewn stones with a vaulted archway. A flight of steps leads up to it, and on the topmost step Christ is sitting, not writhing as in the Paris picture, where the figure of the Saviour has been compared to the Laocoon, but broken down and resigned. And now comes the contrast: the executioners energetically at work pressing in the crown of thorns with its long spikes into His head, their bare bodies and sinewy arms straining to their utmost strength, and the elegant figure of a young soldier in gay coloured clothing who is mounting the steps on the right and looks round smiling. The figures are put in on the coarse canvas with the greatest boldness, broadly, but with the colour thinly laid on. The white garment covering the limbs of Christ shines out from the midst of deep shadows; the only striking part as to colour is supplied by the costume of the young man in tones of dark blue, bright yellow, and red. Besides this, here and there over the whole picture, small pats of colour are distributed, a little red, a little white, but on closer inspection we cannot say exactly what the individual tints are. With astonishing freedom and freshness the hand of the old man carries the peculiar lighting consistently throughout the whole picture.

In his last days Titian painted a Pietà for the tomb he

wished to prepare for himself in the Capella del Crocifisso in the Church of the Frari. The background is a large niche in the bold style of the High Renaissance, flanked by statues of Moses and a Sibyl. The body of Christ is resting on the lap of the Madonna, who gazes at Him full of sorrow, and is supported by a kneeling figure of St. Jerome, looking up at Him sadly, and in whose features a resemblance to Titian himself has with some reason been discovered. The Magdalen runs forward from the left with dishevelled hair, her right arm raised, her face displaying the deepest emotion. What power there is in this figure, the finest Magdalen that Titian ever produced, full of passionate feeling to her very finger tips! The grief of the Virgin and of Jerome seems more restrained, and in the motionless stone figures sorrow for the death of Christ dies away in calm.

Titian was not permitted to finish this last picture; death took away the Master while still at his work, and having spared him so long now came to him under specially tragic circumstances. The summer of 1575 had been rich in gloomy forebodings. Heat such as had never been before within the memory of man had produced frightful drought and want of water. Sickness of an alarming character was the consequence. This did not pass away the following winter, and with the return of the hot season reappeared with renewed intensity. The physicians were not agreed as to its nature, and so the plague spread unrecognised over the whole city. The measures at last adopted, sending away the sick to the lazarettos, burning or disinfecting clothes and furniture, were no longer of any use. In the summer the sickness reached its climax. Two hundred deaths were recorded daily in

D. Anderson

THE DEPOSITION (PIETÀ)

ACADEMY, VENICE

LIBRARY
OF THE
BOMBAY
BRANCH
OF THE
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

the town, so says the historian Andrea Morosini, to whom we owe a clear account of the epidemic, while the number of those who died in the lazarettos was reckoned at six hundred. All trade and commerce, the life's blood of Venice, was stopped completely. But the energy of her rulers, with the Doge Alvise Mocenigo at their head, never failed, and the Senate could be seen assembled as in ordinary times for their sittings, though amongst them many were missing. "It often happened," says the same historian, "that a senator who in the morning had been speaking before the Assembly, in the evening was carried off by the plague."

In the moment of direst need the Doge, in the name of the people, vowed to dedicate a church to Christ; this is the church of "Il Redentore," Palladio's marble building on the Giudecca. From that time the force of the epidemic abated, and by winter it was extinguished.

Forty thousand persons, more than a fourth of the whole population of Venice, had fallen victims to the pestilence. Among them probably was Orazio Vecellio.

While the plague was going on Titian died in his house of old age, on August 27, 1576.

In spite of the difficulties of the time the greatest Master of Venice was borne with honour to the grave, and laid to rest in the church of the Frari in the spot chosen by himself. The artists of the city planned a splendid funeral, after the example of the one arranged for Michelangelo at Florence; but in the general trouble it could not be carried out; the programme for it has been preserved for us by Ridolfi.

The picture which Titian meant to be the adornment for his tomb never reached its destination. Kept at first

in the church of Sant' Angelo, it now hangs in the Venetian Academy, and calls forth our respect for the great Master. The younger Palma finished it, and set this inscription to it, which honours him no less than Titian, "What Titian left unfinished, Palma has completed with reverence, and dedicated the work to God."

For centuries no stone marked the grave of Titian. Antonio Canova designed a noble monument to the Master's memory; his pupils executed it for his own tomb, opposite Titian's grave, in the same church of the Frari. At last, in the year 1852, a monument dedicated to Titian's memory by the Emperors Ferdinand and Franz Joseph, the work of the sculptor Zandomenighi, was erected over the Master's resting-place.

There Titian reposes after his long and glorious life, in front of one of his grandest creations, the "Madonna di Casa Pesaro."

CHAPTER X

TITIAN'S PRIVATE LIFE—FAMILY, HOME, FRIENDS

NUMEROUS documents give us information about Titian's public life, his journeys, and his works. To gain a really clear idea of the man Titian himself, we have to put together the occasional remarks of a few writers and isolated notices to be found in letters, and we are not always told as much as our interest in the personality of the Master makes us desire.

His outward appearance is sufficiently well known from his portraits of himself; but none of them represent him as he was in his younger days, and they give us also no exact idea of his figure. He is to be seen full-length in the celebrated central group of the "Marriage in Cana," by Paolo Veronese, in the Louvre. Here the elderly Master, whose head is covered by the little cap he always wears in his portraits, is playing the violoncello in a quartet in which Paolo himself takes a part; we notice his form is bent, but he seems to be tall, somewhat above middle height, rather thin, well set and strong.

The advanced age Titian reached—his father and brother had also attained great age—and his power of work which remained unexhausted till the very last, lead us to conclude that he had an extraordinary constitution. But his health

must have improved as he grew older, for in his younger days he suffered often from attacks of fever. The envoy Tebaldi told Duke Alfonso of Ferrara in 1522 that Titian had returned home from a journey ill, that he found him free from fever but grown very thin, and he thought a life of dissipation had been the cause of his illness. Titian denied this. In later years we hear only once of his being ill; he was ailing throughout the summer of 1549, and had not quite recovered by March 1550, so he wrote to Granvella.

Titian's education cannot have been very thorough—"benche non fosse di molta letteratura"—says even his admirer Ridolfi, while his brother Francesco is also spoken of as a very clever but not really cultivated man. Both entered the studios very young to learn painting. But Titian clearly was one of those men above the common herd, who, supreme in one branch of art or science, are enabled by their natural gifts to grasp with astonishing ease the essential parts in fields of knowledge remote from their own, and this in such a way that they surprise even the learned by the originality of their thoughts. Among those who associated with him were a large number of learned men, and it is evident that if not highly educated, he was an intelligent and pleasant companion, who was sought after for the sake of his conversation. "He is a first-rate speaker, has much cleverness, and an excellent judgment on all subjects," so Dolce, who was always a warm advocate of the Master, describes him in his "Aretino," which appeared in 1557.

We may assume that Titian was fond of music, and even a performer in the art in which three of the famous Venetian Masters—Giorgione, Sebastiano del Piombo, and

Tintoretto—achieved great proficiency. Paolo Veronese had painted him, as mentioned above, playing the violoncello. More direct evidence is contained in a letter of Aretino's (April 7, 1540). He writes in delight about "the most commendable, most honourable, and neatest bargain" that he had managed to bring about between Alessandro degli Organi, the celebrated organ builder, and Titian. The former was to build an organ in return for a portrait. May we not presume that it is this small organ which is introduced into the Venus picture at Madrid?

His agreeable manners made it easy for Titian to gain admission into Courts. "Apart from his talents he is easy to treat with, amiable and amenable, and that is a considerable point with remarkable men," in these words Leoni recommends him to Cardinal Farnese in 1542. From his almost constant intercourse with persons of high rank Titian had no doubt quickly acquired the formalities necessary in their society, as his numerous letters to his princely patrons abundantly show. He always writes very respectfully, and declares there is nothing he desires more than to serve that particular nobleman. Occasionally he allows himself to slip into flattery, as when in 1518, writing in answer to the Duke of Ferrara, who had sent him an order for the "Bacchanal," with precise details for the subject to be represented, he says it confirmed him in his opinion that the greatness of the art of the Old Masters might be largely if not entirely explained by the very judicious guidance and support they received from great princes. In later years the tone of such letters becomes more servile, the style more affected, and we may, with good reason, infer that his intimate friend Aretino occasionally guided the pen. But we should bear in mind here that as

years went on Titian became more completely imbued with the tone of the Spanish Court, and that in the latter half of the century all Italy was beginning to fall under the influence of Spanish custom, and to adopt its forms of politeness even in the language of daily intercourse.

On certain occasions Titian knew how to assert himself even to men in high position. It was probably partly the fault of Ferrante Gonzaga, the governor of Milan, that Titian's Milanese pension was not paid — the strict economy with which he managed the Imperial finances was well known—anyhow, Titian attributed the neglect to him, and so did not trouble himself to pay his respects to Don Ferrante when the latter was on a visit to Venice in 1556. Again, when the governor did not appear punctually at a dinner that had been ordered in Aretino's house, Titian went quietly away to his work, and was found fault with for his rudeness.

If he believed that his honour as an artist was touched he could find a forcible answer enough; of this his controversy with the town of Brescia is a striking example. Titian had heard that the referees who were to fix the price for the three ceiling paintings did not consider the pictures to be his own work. Thereupon he addressed a furious protest to the Bishop of Brescia, saying he was not fond of disputes, and only engaged in them when compelled, and so he wished to make an honourable agreement with the town. "But the affair must be judged by men who have a knowledge of art, in fact by painters, and, indeed, by distinguished painters . . . If this is not done Aristotle himself might be called upon to make the decision, and would not be in a position to judge of the difference in the method of painting or of the artistic

difficulties." If the artists also decided that the works were not by his hand he would give back all the money he had already received, and so on. In the end, however, Titian gave in and took the sum offered him.

Of Titian's relations with the other artists of his day Dolce gives a favourable account. "He never abuses other painters, and is ready and willing to bestow praise on those who deserve it." Others, on the contrary, do not speak so well of Titian's conduct in this respect, but accuse him of being concerned in base intrigues. In particular he has been found fault with for applying for the broker's patent, that Bellini held, during the latter's lifetime. The details of this incident have been already given. Titian's action was not directed so much against the old master of Venetian painting as against other candidates; no doubt he here displayed that want of consideration for rivals which is to be found in great artists who are conscious of their own worth. Besides, we should not judge the matter from our modern standpoint. By his application he only wanted to make sure of the reversion for himself. This was evidently not unusual at that period, for we see that Tintoretto also applied, just in the same way, in 1574, during Titian's lifetime, for the first "senseria to fall vacant," that is, for the one held by Titian himself. It is evident conclusions ought not to be drawn from this circumstance alone, and we have no other record at all of coolness between him and Bellini.

In his earlier years Titian seems to have been on friendly terms with Pordenone. In 1519, at Treviso, he gave his opinion as an expert in favour of that Master in a dispute with a nobleman who had refused to pay for the painting of a façade, and Pordenone's admiration for Titian's

Saint Sebastian in the altar-picture in San Niccolò de' Frari is well known. Their relations became less friendly as time went on, because Pordenone, who was the only serious rival Titian had in those years when his fame was on the increase, and who certainly excelled him in one branch of art, being the greatest fresco-painter of the Venetian School, was played off against him by the Signoria during the period 1536 to 1538, when they and he were not on good terms. But these are merely frictions which often occur between great artists. It was rumoured in Venice that for fear of Titian's vengeance Pordenone dared not show himself unarmed in the streets. But at all times gossip is rife in the studios, and we must recollect, before we judge Titian too hardly, that Pordenone was a man imbued with unlimited ambition, and that he did not shrink from deeds of violence even towards members of his own family. It is not right that Titian's character should be depreciated on the strength of an isolated remark.

Finally, there is a story, constantly repeated, that a few days after the young Tintoretto entered his studio Titian sent him away, being jealous of him, having discovered how extraordinarily gifted he was. It would appear some difficulty did really arise between the two men, but the short allusion to this, in a letter of Aretino's of January 1549, gives no information as to the cause. The fact remains that long after the time when Tintoretto might have been in Titian's studio intercourse was kept up between them. The unlimited admiration which the younger man always felt for the Master should suffice to refute that story; we know also that many years later he kept in his house, with the greatest veneration, a "Crown-

ing with Thorns," by Titian, which the latter had given him.

We may, in fact, say that Titian stood on friendly terms with his contemporaries, and gave kindly encouragement to younger talent, acknowledging with pleasure gifts in others. After Giorgione's death he completed many of his friend's unfinished works, with what success may be seen at the present day in the "Venus" picture in Dresden. When the office of the "Piombo" was offered to him he refused it, evidently out of consideration for Sebastiano, with whom he renewed his old connection in later years, both in Venice and Rome. He sent a message to Lorenzo Lotto by Aretino to say how much he missed his criticism. He seems from the first to have behaved in a friendly way to Paolo Veronese when the latter came as an experienced artist to Venice and rapidly obtained a high position. His opinion of Giovanni Battista Moroni is well known; he advised Venetian nobles who went as officials to Bergamo to have themselves painted by him, saying Moroni could take most faithful likenesses. To foreign artists, such as Vasari, Salviati, and Benvenuto Cellini he showed himself very kind. All this proves conclusively that he knew how to appreciate properly the artistic merits of others and that he was free from petty jealousy.

There is only one trait that somewhat dims the picture of Titian's great qualities. We can acquit him of many failings of which he is accused, but the reproach of avarice and stinginess clings to him. On his first public appearance, when he presented his petition in 1513, he certainly affirmed that he was not thereto impelled by love of gain but by the desire of fame; this, however, is in contradiction

to all other testimony, and added to it is the fact that he constantly had disputes with the purchasers over the price of his pictures. Then there are his letters. From none of the great Renaissance Masters, with the exception perhaps of Michelangelo, do we possess so much correspondence in his own handwriting. We prepare to read this goodly series with the pleasant anticipation that a number of details on the personality and art of the writer await us. Instead of this we are grievously disappointed. Occasionally a picture is mentioned, and sometimes it is stated how far advanced the artist is with the work, otherwise there is nothing but business, constant complaints of money not paid and entreaties that interest might be exerted in his favour. A succession of these letters is tiresome reading.

We get confirmation of this love of money in Titian from a number of witnesses not to be refuted. The Spanish envoy, Garcia Hernandez, calls him "rather avaricious;" the art dealer, Stoppio, "avarice itself;" and Agatone, the agent for Urbino, who often complained of his demands, wrote in 1564, "he is the most covetous man nature ever created, and to get money he would sell his own skin." Again, in the Spanish Dialogue on Painting (of the year 1631), for the knowledge of which we have to thank Justi, the author makes Trasimaco say, "Although the late King (Philip II.), of blessed memory, was as economical as that old man of Cadore was avaricious, they always remained good friends." And we certainly cannot overlook words such as the following, drawn from Aretino at a time when he was annoyed with Titian, "nothing but the whole price can induce him to go on with the work"; or, again, when the artist left him in the lurch about

a portrait of Giovanni *delle bande nere* promised him long before, which Aretino meant to give as a present to Duke Cosimo, he wrote that the fault lay with the very fair income which Titian possessed and his intense desire to increase it.

This pronounced love for gain did not prevent Titian from occasionally doing kind actions (a warm letter of thanks he had received is printed in the letters to Aretino, ii., 120), and isolated traits of generosity have been handed down to us in anecdotes. When Henry III. of France visited him and was asking the price of a picture here and there, Titian begged him to accept them as a present. Once, so Ridolfi relates, the Cardinals Granvella and Pacheco were coming unexpectedly to dine with him; he threw a purse to his servants saying, "Prepare the meal, the whole world is dining with me." We may suspect possibly that speculation went for something in his behaviour towards great people; still, there is no doubt that Titian always entertained his friends very hospitably at his house; of this we shall speak more presently.

The wealth that he acquired by his work was really considerable, even according to modern computation. Of family property he possessed little or nothing. In the memorial to the Council of Ten of 1514 he complained that if he had to wait till all the reversions for the broker's patent had fallen in, he might meanwhile die of hunger; this probably need scarcely be taken literally. However, when the artist was about the age of forty he received so many and such important commissions that the proceeds of them alone must have brought him an income. Some examples of the payments he received may not be without interest. The altar-piece at Brescia was paid for with 200

ducats; for the Pesaro Madonna he received in numerous instalments about 100 gold ducats; about the same for "Peter Martyr"; for the altar-picture at Castel Roganzuolo, 991 lire, of which a small part only was paid in cash. For the "Fede" at the Ducal Palace 171 ducats were given, and 1000 ducats for the ceiling pictures at Brescia. He himself tells how the payment he received from Ercole II. of Ferrara for the replica of the portrait of his father, Duke Alfonso—namely, 200 scudi in gold—was the most generous he had ever had for a royal portrait. Besides this, he often had from his patrons presents, costly stuffs, and the like.

Occasionally he also received, especially from the Hapsburgs, very substantial presents in money. When he came to Augsburg in 1548 the Emperor caused 1000 scudi to be paid over to him, of which the artist used the half for himself and his companion during his residence in the Imperial city, and Prince Philip gave him the same sum in 1549 immediately after their meeting at Milan, and in the following years repeatedly made over to him larger sums.

Besides these irregular receipts Titian drew a regular income of considerable amount. The broker's patent brought him in annually about 100 ducats, to which were added from eighteen to twenty ducats by exemption from taxes, and he received from Charles V. in 1541 a pension of 100 scudi per annum, to be paid from the Milanese treasury, this in 1548 was doubled. Still his circumstances were not quite so comfortable as appears. Charles V.'s revenues from the treasuries were so loaded with debt that Titian had the greatest difficulty in obtaining his pension. This is constantly alluded to in the letters, and he repeatedly

spoke, with a play upon the words, of his "passioni" instead of "pensioni." An express written injunction from Philip II. was from time to time necessary to procure for the artist the money in arrears.

To these receipts in cash were added others in kind. He was assigned, likewise by Charles V., an especial privilege on corn from the Neapolitan treasury, which, however, for many years he was not able to collect, and which even involved him in expense, as he was obliged to keep an agent in Naples. The important privileges he had obtained from King Ferdinand of cutting wood in various forests in the Tyrol he seems to have asked for principally in the interests of his brother.

In the management of his money Titian showed himself a clever and cautious man of business. He invested the capital he had amassed as far as possible in land. When, after his first meeting with the Emperor, he had at his disposal more money than usual received from him, he at once applied to the Duke of Mantua to beg for his good offices in a business which had been already planned but not proceeded with; he wanted to purchase thirty-three pieces of land in the territory of Treviso belonging to the monks of San Benedetto, and offered to pay twenty-five ducats an acre. We can form a good notion of the value of Titian's real property from the return drawn up by him in 1566 for the purposes of assessment. According to this he owned a number of meadows and fields in various places in the Cadorine country, in Cadore itself, Valcalda, Tai, and elsewhere; others in the district of Serravalle and near Conegliano. On his property in Col di Manza and Milarè there were small houses, and he owned one of the same kind in Borgo S. Antonio in Conegliano. Notwith-

standing all this, Titian, who is obviously trying to depreciate the value of his property to the magistrate, speaks of the "slender means" on which he has to support his family, and in 1572 he even says to Philip II., in one of his letters complaining, as usual, of the non-payment of his pension: "I really do not know what I shall have to live on in my old age."

In these traits of character we recognise a man in whose life the acquisition and hoarding of wealth played a large part. What a contrast to Rembrandt's open-handed carelessness in these matters! But we shall be inclined to judge Titian less hardly if we remember that the love for his children, and a desire to secure for them as easy a life as possible, influenced to a great extent his action.

We cannot speak of Titian's family without thinking of him in relation to his native place, and to the town he had chosen to be his home. He had left Cadore when a boy, but never did the memory fade from him of his birthplace and the grandeur of the mountain scenery surrounding it. Whenever he paints a landscape we find in the blue distance the magnificent shapes of the Dolomites. Titian visited his old home as often as he could. In his extreme old age he was there on October 1, 1565, accompanied by Valerio Zuccato, a member of the famous family of mosaic workers, with whom Titian from his youth had kept up terms of intimacy, and by the painters Emanuel Amberger and Marco Vecellio. On this occasion, in virtue of the privilege granted him by the Emperor, he appointed Fausto Vecellio, a distant relative, to be a notary, just as, we may remark in passing, he had often made use of rights

he possessed as Knight in favour of the inhabitants of Cadore.

In bad times, when the Cadorines were in want of money, he often assisted them with advances to procure salt and corn for the people; at least, in many of his letters of the year 1561 there are demands for repayment. Occasionally people in Cadore made claims on his influence in Venice. Although Titian had declared that he was always ready to do them service, in one particular he does not seem to have displayed much gratitude, for he allowed the choir of the principal church in Cadore to be painted from his designs by his pupils, and the picture for the family chapel of the Vecelli, a Madonna between St. Andrew and San Tiziano, is universally acknowledged not to be by his own hand. In the servant standing behind the latter saint we recognise the features of the Master himself.

He probably often went to his old home in search of rest and refreshment in the strong air of the mountains after his laborious work, and no doubt he also wanted to see his old father, who did not die till 1537, and later to visit his brother Francesco. A strong impulse had driven this brother to take to the profession of arms and to give up the art of painting, for which he was highly gifted, to judge by the beautiful organ shutters in the Church of San Salvatore in Venice, one of the most charming creations in the Giorgionesque style. He is said to have frequently distinguished himself in the battles under the walls of Verona and Vicenza. Having returned to painting again he did not keep to it long, but carried on for a time a trade in timber, for which he obtained privileges through King Ferdinand in 1534 and again in 1548. In 1550 he still lived, as he himself states, with his brother Titian in

Venice. Finally he removed to Cadore, devoted himself to the administration of his native town, and attained to the highest positions of honour in the little municipality. Francesco Vecellio died at Cadore about 1559. When Vincenzo Vecellio pronounced the funeral oration he praised Francesco's good qualities, his uprightness, cleverness, and simplicity; he was free from ambition, very charitable, and to the time of his death a friend to hospitality. After his brother's death Titian inherited the home of his family, which was sold by his son Pomponio in 1580.

Francesco Vecellio died unmarried, but Titian had married in November 1525, thus legalising a connection by which he had already had two sons. His wife Cecilia was the daughter of a barber from the district of Cadore. At the time of the marriage she was ill in bed, and Titian was induced to have their union blessed by the church through fear that the stain of illegitimacy would cling to his children. A priest, Paolo, performed the ceremony. The witnesses were Francesco Vecellio, Niccolò, a goldsmith, Silvestro, a stonemason, and Girolamo, the priest's brother, afterwards a painter. The marriage lasted only a few years. Titian, himself unwell, had returned home from Bologna, whither he had gone at Federico Gonzaga's request, when, after a short illness, Cecilia died. The artist put aside the works he had begun for the Marquis, he was too restless to go on with them. The death of his wife, who was buried on August 5, 1530, affected him deeply.

He then summoned his sister Orsa, who had remained unmarried, to take charge of his household and bring up his three little children—the fourth, a girl, had died early—and from this time for twenty years Orsa was her brother's

faithful companion. She was for him "not only a sister but a daughter, mother, and friend," so wrote Aretino in a beautiful letter to Titian after her death. Orsa Vecellio died in March 1550.

Three of Titian's children lived to grow up: Pomponio, Orazio, and a daughter, Lavinia, the youngest. He had early destined his eldest son for the priesthood, the second was attracted by his taste and talent to follow his father's profession of artist. Both children at first received the same education; "they are learning and growing; with God's help and that of my patrons I hope they may become worthy men," writes their father in 1534. A particularly charming letter of the year 1537 from Aretino to Pomponio, then twelve years old, has been preserved, in which he addresses him as "Monsignorino." The children had spent the summer in the country; "but now it is high time you should return to your studies, for I believe there is no school kept in the country, and in the winter it is very pleasant in the town." He advises the boy to study Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, "for I want you to put all the doctors in the world to despair, in the same way that the beautiful works your father produces drive all the painters of Italy to fury." Titian's influence procured for his son many rich benefices. While still a boy (1530) he was granted the curacy of Medole by the Duke of Mantua; later on by Pope Paul III. the abbacy of S. Pietro in Colle, in the diocese of Ceneda, to obtain which Titian journeyed to Rome, wrote innumerable letters, and even set courtly patrons to work. Finally, in 1554, the curacy of Sant' Andrea in Fabbro, in the territory of Treviso, was added to the others.

The hopes set upon Pomponio by his father and Aretino

were destined to be disappointed. He made use of his revenues to lead a dissipated life, and squandered the money Titian earned by his strenuous toil. "You ought to have denied bread to your sons," wrote Aretino to Titian and Sansovino, who also had a scapegrace son, Francesco. "But," he adds, "if we look back on the follies of our own youth, we shall pardon their faults and laugh over them." And he concludes with the following words, especially addressed to Titian: "That man is a wondrous fool who only worries himself about his heir and denies himself all comfort." At the same time he writes seriously to Pomponio. He describes to him how the evening before Titian had come to see him full of anxiety, and suffering much, and he entreats him to turn over a new leaf. "It is not right that the wealth Titian has earned with so much trouble by the art of his pencil, by prudence, and many journeys, should be squandered for your pleasures; why, you ought to have doubled it." He recommends Pomponio to return to his books. "Then I will do my best to make your father's heart relent towards you, whom you have turned from you by your wrong-doing."

All admonitions, it appears, were fruitless. Pomponio wore the clerical habit, but had his duties as priest fulfilled by others. So in 1554 Titian addressed the Duke of Mantua and begged him to transfer the benefice of Medole to his nephew, "because my son has not much inclination for the ecclesiastical state." How many sad hours must Titian have passed through before he made up his mind to this step!

Then for many years we hear no more of Pomponio. He survived his father and brother, but seems not to have

been in Venice at the time of their death, for thieves broke into the empty house and managed to carry off a large portion of the treasures it contained. After a law-suit with his brother-in-law about the inheritance, Pomponio gradually turned his own share into money. He sold the old family dwelling at Cadore and his title to Titian's house in Venice, and by 1582 he retained nothing but a few acres near Ansogne and the cottage at Conegliano. Finally, he lived in great poverty at S. Pietro in Castello, in Venice. When his unworthy life came to an end we know not. The last mention of him is in 1594.

The younger son, Orazio, was a greater comfort to his father. It is difficult to form an opinion of his worth as an artist, for the father's fame overshadows the performance of the son. Besides, his principal work perished in 1577. This was a wall-painting in the Hall of Great Council representing the battle between Barbarossa's soldiers and the Romans at the foot of the Engelsburg; it was much praised in some of its details by Vasari. Orazio seems to have distinguished himself most in portraiture. In Rome, whither he had accompanied his father, he painted a celebrated violin player and some portraits for Duke Guidobaldo of Urbino; at Milan he produced a full-length portrait of the governor, the Duke of Sessa. There is no certain information to be had about these pictures, but it may be that, under another name, some of them are still in existence. In any case, we shall not go far wrong if we recognise Orazio's hand in numbers of the later works which went forth to the world under Titian's name.

Orazio gave his father a helping hand in his numerous business transactions even more than in his art. Titian frequently sent him to Milan on matters connected with

his pension, and also to Cadore about his business affairs there. Orazio had especially to do with the wood trade; he had an office on the Zattere, and we learn that he once supplied the necessary material for repairing the "long bridge" at Murano. Occasionally he too caused his father some anxiety; if we may believe Ridolfi he lost a good deal of money over alchemy. How anxious Titian must have been when, in 1559, the news came from Milan that the sculptor Leone Leoni, who had experienced nothing from Titian but kindness, had apparently in a fit of jealousy set upon Orazio and wounded him severely with a dagger. Happily the wounds proved not to be mortal.

Titian did his best to provide for this son also. His broker's patent in the Fondaco de' Tedeschi was by his request transferred in 1569 to Orazio. He tried to procure a pension for him from the Spanish Court on the strength of the naturalisation he had already received from Charles V., and succeeded in inducing Philip II. in 1571 to allow that, in the event of his own death, Orazio should have the reversion of the Milanese pension. But Orazio was not able to enjoy this favour. About the time of his father's death he was attacked by the plague and taken to the Lazzaretto Vecchio and there died. He left no descendants, though it appears he was married.

By the side of these two sons grew up a daughter, Lavinia, born about 1530. According to Venetian custom her life was passed within her home, of which, on the death of her aunt, Orsa Vecellio, she must have assumed the management. In the summer of 1554 negotiations for her marriage were already begun, but were not concluded until the following year. The marriage

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TITIAN'S DAUGHTER.

DRESDEN

contract was drawn up by a notary from Cadore and signed at Serravalle on March 20, 1555. The bridegroom, Cornelio Sarcinello, was a young man of good family in Ceneda, and lived at Serravalle. The marriage took place at Venice in June. Titian provided handsomely for his daughter by allowing her the substantial marriage portion of 1400 ducats (according to another reading it might even be 2400), which he made over to his son-in-law in the course of two years. Together with other jewellery a pearl necklace, probably the same that Lavinia wears in her portraits, formed part of her dowry. After this event Titian must often have journeyed to the pleasant little town of Serravalle to enjoy the society of his daughter and grandchildren; and it was no doubt the heaviest blow that fell upon him in his old age that Lavinia died only a few years after her marriage; it is not known exactly when. We have the most convincing evidence of his love for his daughter and of the delight he felt in her beauty from the portraits he painted of her. He included himself with her in a curious picture not easy to explain, which, at one time belonging to the Uffel collection at Antwerp, has been perpetuated by Van Dyck's etching. Here Titian has his arm round Lavinia, who seems in an interesting situation; in the foreground on the right is seen a human skull. Could it be that Titian sought to soothe by this work the grief he felt for the death of his child?

We have no record of where Titian had his dwelling during the first decades he spent in Venice. Since 1514 he had occupied a studio in a house near San Samuele

which had passed from the possession of the Duke of Milan into that of the State. Evidently it was not in good order, the rain came in, and Titian had constant expense for repairs of all sorts. It was in this studio that the designs were made for the large picture in the Hall of Great Council.

In the twenties Titian lived in a house belonging to the Tron family, in the parish of San Polo. It was not until after the death of his wife that he removed into the house he continued to occupy until he died. In the north of Venice, in the direction of Murano, lies the quarter of Biri, divided into Biri Grande and Biri Piccolo, situated almost between San Giovanni e Paolo and the Jesuit Church. In Biri Grande the patrician Alvise Polani owned, in 1527, a house called the Casa Grande, in which Titian rented from Polani's son-in-law, Leonardo Molin, first the upper storey on September 1, 1531, for forty ducats, to be paid half-yearly, and afterwards two other rooms below it (mezzadi), which he sub-let, as he wished to prevent objectionable people from settling in them. In 1549 he took also from the same owners a piece of land adjoining the house, and finally paid for the whole together the sum of ninety-two ducats a year. From the outset he secured for himself the right to invest money in the house, as also ater he obtained permission to enclose the land, and stipulated by contract that neither should his rent be raised nor the lease be terminated before he had been recouped in his expenditure.

At the time when Titian occupied the house in Biri Grande that quarter of the city presented a very different aspect from what it does in the present day. A view was then open over the lagoon, and to the north as far as to

the mountains. A very graphic description of the picture that then offered itself to the eye, and of the life in Titian's house, is given in the following letter appended by Francesco Priscianese to his Latin grammar: "On the 1st of August I was invited to a feast . . . in a charming garden belonging to Messer Tiziano, the well-known excellent painter. As like desires like, some of the most remarkable men of this city were present, namely, Pietro Aretino, . . . Jacopo Tatti called il Sansovino, Jacopo Nardi, and myself, the fourth in this illustrious circle. The heat of the sun was still great, although the place itself is shady, so we spent the time, before the tables were carried out, in looking at those life-like pictures that fill the house, and we enjoyed the beauty and charm of the garden which lies on the sea-shore at the extreme end of Venice. From it one can see the pretty island of Murano and other places. Hardly had the sun gone down when the water swarmed with innumerable gondolas, full of beautiful women. Song and music floated towards us and accompanied our cheerful supper until midnight. The garden, which is beautifully laid out and greatly admired, reminded me of Santa Agata. . . . The supper was very good, rich in the most delicate viands and costly wines, and seasoned by the pleasures which the time of year, the guests, and the feast brought with them. We had just arrived at the fruits when your letters came . . . and when the praise of the Latin language was sung, at the expense of the Italian, Aretino became exceedingly angry, and could hardly be prevented from inditing one of the most cruel invectives in the world. He called for paper and ink, although he had already expressed himself strongly in words. After this the supper came most gaily to an end."

The lovely scene recalled so charmingly by Priscianese will be sought for to-day in vain. The erection of the Fondamenta Nuova towards the end of the sixteenth century has substantially altered the character of this quarter of the city, and blocks of buildings have cut off the view from the house in Biri Grande. The house itself, which was occupied after Titian by two excellent painters, Francesco Bassano and Leonardo Corona, has been preserved, but in the last century completely transformed. The space occupied by the garden has for the most part been built over, and the beautiful tree which adorned it, and which tradition would recognise in the picture of "Peter Martyr," has been cut down. The great hall in the upper storey, formerly Titian's studio, has been reduced in size by alterations, and a frieze of lively *putti* in Titianesque style, still decorating it at the beginning of the last century was sold to some foreigner (in private possession at Munich and Vienna (?)). But the remembrance of Titian in connection with this spot has not entirely disappeared; for the last two hundred years an adjoining piece of ground has been called "Campo di Tiziano," and in 1880 a memorial tablet was placed on Titian's dwelling.

In Priscianese's letter a few men are mentioned who stood in close relation to Titian, and were united with him in a friendship that lasted for many decades. The name of Pietro Aretino is inseparable from that of the great painter; it is impossible to speak of the one without thinking of the other. The relations between the two men began as soon as the native of Arezzo, who had made Rome too hot to hold him, came to settle in Venice, after a short stay at Mantua. Of Venice he used to say that the good God remained in it for eleven months out of the

twelve, and he himself from henceforth quitted it but seldom, and only for a short space at a time. He had entered the city of the lagoons on March 27, 1527, and a quarter of a year later he sent his portrait by Titian's hand to the Marquis of Mantua.

We have the fullest details of the intimacy between the two from Aretino's letters, our principal source of information on Titian's life for nigh upon three decades. They called each other "*compare*,"—"gossip," but felt just as if they were brothers. "Titian is to me another I," "he is I and I am he," are occasionally descriptions of the relations between them, and Marcolini, an intimate friend of both, once wrote to Aretino: "Titian is to you more than a brother"; and another correspondent is told: "When I write to you it is the same as if the letter were from Titian." They were constantly together, and if Aretino felt the number of guests in his own house too many he took refuge in Titian's. If any delicacy was sent to him from one of his numerous patrons he wrote off post-haste to the artist inviting him to a feast, and generally Sansovino, and sometimes also some fair lady, whose beauty was greater than her virtue, would be invited, and one or two others, perhaps the Mantuan envoy, Monsignor Torquato Bembo, completed the circle. The tone at these convivial meetings was certainly not always very refined. But Titian was much more reserved than his friend, who, in consequence, called him prudish. It seems he was not too particular to caress an Angela Spadara, or whatever the lady of the party might be called. "He kisses them and plays all sorts of foolish youthful pranks with them, but goes no further." "We might really take example by him," writes Aretino to Sansovino, to whom the letter is

addressed from which the above words are quoted; and no doubt he spoke the truth.

Seldom was this friendship overcast by any cloud of disagreement. Once there was some difference between them on the subject of Tintoretto; but when Titian sent word by Boccamazza, a mutual acquaintance, that he felt sorry for his vehemence, Aretino at once held out the hand of reconciliation. To ask pardon was not necessary; "it is enough for me that he looks upon me as a brother, as I am, and confesses that he had overstepped the limits befitting a man of his age and sagacity."

Titian has been found fault with for nothing so much as for this friendship with Aretino. It seems to cling like some stain to the memory of the great artist. But are those who decry Titian's character on account of this intimacy altogether in the right?

Never has any man been more diversely judged than Pietro Aretino. From the "fifth Evangelist" down to "Anti-Christ" every superlative term of praise or blame has been bestowed upon him. It is certain that after his death he has generally been inveighed against and slandered, mostly by those who in his lifetime flattered him; just as Alexander VI. had to suffer for all the sins of his predecessors, so now Aretino's name bears all the abuse men think they may heap on generations of literary parasites.

It is certain that Aretino's character was disfigured by vices and obnoxious features of every kind. He was a slanderer by profession, and made his pen useful to whoever would pay him; his cynicism borders on the most extreme shamelessness. The Venetian State alone, perhaps, inspired him with respect, because it allowed him freedom of speech and left him unmolested; or it may be he was too wise to

write anything against the Republic of St. Mark, knowing well it was accustomed to make short work with enemies. But even in him some gleams of light relieve the darkness. It is certain that Aretino laid all Europe under contribution, and pestered every one for money, but not from avarice or to heap up treasure. The way in which he scattered broadcast what he received has unquestionably something fine about it. He loved luxury in every form, and liked to let his friends share it. His door stood open to every one, and he himself related the story with pleasure how strangers had turned into his house and called for wine, thinking it was an inn. Besides, he was charitable to extravagance, but boasted of it in a most offensive way.

The man only commands our sympathy when he speaks of his daughters, to whom he had given the significant names of Adria and Austria. For them he finds words that can only have been suggested by genuine feeling, and certainly says nothing that does not come from his heart. In the long series of his letters, one to the Duchess of Urbino (November 1554) in which he complains of the sufferings of his daughter Adria, who was badly treated by her husband's family, is certainly one of the most beautiful he ever wrote.

Aretino must have possessed gifts that were irresistibly attractive. Even men who were fully aware of his faults, having known him and his methods well from the intimacy of many years, always tried to draw him back to their side, as, for instance, Pope Clement VII. Evidently he gave of his best in personal intercourse. A stimulating and brilliant talker, whose conversation sparkled with sharp remarks and anecdotes of every kind at the expense of the most

diverse persons—he had a malicious word for every one, so says a well-known triplet—he was, no doubt, a welcome companion to Titian. Like the painter himself he was not a really cultivated man; what he knew he had picked up quickly and with acute intelligence. Never is his ridicule more cutting than when he is speaking of the self-conceit of the learned. It may be that for the artist he was more than a mere welcome companion. In his young day at Perugia he had been a painter himself, and though he had given up painting because he perceived his gift did not lie in that direction, he was qualified to speak on art in a way that can only be done by one who has himself handled the brush. Then he had lived in Rome at the time when Raphael and Michelangelo were contending for the palm, and as a guest in Agostino Chigi's house had had every opportunity of observing closely the aims and works of artists in those days. He boasted also that he knew something of the methods ("andari") of both the ancients and his contemporaries, and would recount in later years how Raphael had set some value on his opinion. Ever since those days in Rome he had been on terms of intimacy with Sebastiano del Piombo, and Michelangelo himself felt he could not altogether decline Aretino's demands, and went so far as to give him drawings. Titian might, therefore, be willing to listen to such a man's opinion, and be grateful to him, as well as to Sansovino for advice on the subject of art.

We may discover Aretino's strong artistic gift in a few, not many, descriptive passages in his letters. Two among them are deservedly celebrated, one in which he describes the varied life on the Grand Canal as seen from his own dwelling, and the other containing a description of the

sunset. Aretino raises his eyes to the sky, "which, since the day of creation, was never more beautiful." "The atmosphere was clear here, there misty; the clouds big with moisture lay thick above the buildings, and to the right merged into a smoky grey. The nearest of them glowed like sunlight, the more distinct were tinged with a delicate red. With what bold strokes of her brush ('i pennelli naturali') did Nature make the sky recede and seem far distant from the palaces, just as Titian does in his landscapes. Here and there a bluish-green, curiously mixed by Nature, who is mistress of the greatest Masters. By lights and darks some parts were brought out strongly, others set back into the distance. I exclaimed three or four times: 'Oh, Titian! where art thou at this moment?' If thou hadst been able to paint what I describe thou wouldest have astonished mankind. Long after the wondrous scene had vanished, my spirit fed upon it." Such a fine description as this of a scene in nature, showing so much delicate observation of the picturesque, is not easy again to meet with in the literature of that day.

Besides their artistic tastes their common advantage linked the two most closely together. Aretino, indeed, overrates the value of his influence for Titian when he says: "Everybody knows how high he has risen through my instrumentality," which remark was confirmed by an obliging friend (Francesco Terzo) who writes to him: "It is by the favour of Aretino and his pen that Titian's works have attained such reputation, and he receives for them the high prices which he well deserves." Aretino had forgotten that Titian's fame was well established throughout all Italy before they came to know each other; that before that time he had already done work for the

Courts of Ferrara and Mantua, and through Bembo had long before been invited to Rome; but in later days Aretino was really of use to his friend. Scarcely was a picture finished on Titian's easel than Aretino composed an epistle in its praise; on the portraits he indited numerous sonnets, and these were printed at once and circulated rapidly throughout Europe. In this way he kept Titian's name constantly before the public over the whole world. The painter repaid him with kindnesses; if Aretino wanted some work of art wherewith to recommend himself to a patron Titian willingly furnished him with one. So to both of them their friendship was advantageous.

There is no doubt that Aretino was a genuine admirer of Titian's genius. He once wrote that he must confess to the best of his judgment the works of all other artists were full of art ("respirano con i sensi dell' arte"), those of Titian alone full of nature ("si movano con gli spiriti della natura"). And as he bestowed admiration on the artist, so he felt sincere affection for the man. Titian, on his side, must have belonged to the few who lamented Aretino's death, and who retained for him a friendly feeling even when he was in his grave. He died suddenly on October 21, 1556.

The sculptor, Jacopo Sansovino, formed the third in this friendship, which has been given the name of the "Triumvirate." He had fled to Venice from the sack of Rome, and was soon afterwards appointed architect in chief to the Republic (1529). It was he who gave to the city, which from that time became his home, her present character; "he has, as it were, made it entirely new," so says Vasari, and with his name are inseparably connected

the Library Building, the Palazzo Corner della Ca Grande, the Loggetta of the Campanile of San Marco, and the Scala d'oro in the Ducal Palace. He became on terms of the greatest intimacy with Titian and Aretino, and was a constant participator in their lively feasts. He was hardly less dissipated than Aretino, and was devoted to women even to extreme old age.

It is Aretino who lets us into the secret of how it was possible these three men should have remained so closely united that neither jealousy nor envy ever caused a division between them—none of the three encroached on the domain of the others. "It is the difference in our professions which makes us always desire the same thing," he explained, to the astonishment of every one. For Sansovino this friendship was on one occasion most useful, when a serious catastrophe endangered his freedom and property. In the night of December 18, 1545, the roof of the Library, then in process of building, fell down and seriously damaged the whole structure. Sansovino was promptly put into prison, and it seemed likely would be punished severely. Aretino sent word to Titian, who was then in Rome, of the fate of his friend, and both at once set their influence to work, and, supported by men in high position, they succeeded in getting Sansovino released with only a fine to pay. But it was not until over a twelvemonth later that he was reinstated in the post from which he had been dismissed. As far as we know, Sansovino's relations with Titian remained undisturbed until the former's death in 1570. Sansovino did his part in commemorating the "Triumvirate" by introducing his own portrait and that of his two friends in the celebrated sacristy door of San Marco.

The names of Francesco Marcolino and Luigi Anichino

are very frequently mentioned among Titian's friends. The first was a well-known publisher in Venice, who was at the same time an amateur architect; he made a design for a bridge in Murano which gained the admiration of Sansovino, an architect by profession. He entered with the "Triumvirate" into some closer bond, which was given the name of "Academy," but its aim and composition remain a mystery. The second man mentioned above, a native of Ferrara, was a famous cutter of precious stones, whom Vasari also recalls in a few friendly words.

So, in the society of which Titian formed one, each of the sister arts was represented by some distinguished man; we may, therefore, assume that at their social meetings frivolous subjects were not always the order of the day. Questions of art must often have formed the subject of conversation, such as one that was agitating all Italy at that time, as to which of the fine arts should take precedence over the others. For be it remarked in passing, that though Titian did not practise any other art but his own, he understood enough, of architecture, at least, to be occasionally a member of a Commission appointed to pronounce on architectural questions (such as, in 1535, on the building of S. Francesco della Vigna).

Numerous men of repute were added to this circle; many of the envoys residing in Venice, especially the Mantuan, B. Agnello, and ecclesiastics of note, as, for instance, the Bishop of Troia, were often present at these suppers. The renowned architect, Michele Sanmicheli, came over from Verona and took care between whiles to keep his friends supplied with wine. The Latinist Priscianese, as we have already shown, had expressed in a charming way his gratitude for the hospitable reception he had received; Sperone

Speroni, the author of a tragedy, "Canace," then much in vogue, frequently mentioned in Aretino's letters, introduced the praise of Titian into his "Dialoghi." These are only a few of the best known names of those who were on intimate terms with Titian, a few out of the circle which included all the men who were most eminent either by position, culture, or artistic attainment, in Titian's native country in its narrower or broader sense, and, indeed, in the whole world.

We may bring these remarks on the man Titian to a conclusion with some words of Vasari, who, as was his wont when he spoke from personal observation, hits the essential point: "Titian has enjoyed good health, and has been more lucky than any other man in his profession; Heaven has favoured him and granted him happiness. His house in Venice has been visited by all the princes, men of letters, and nobles who came to Venice in his day, for besides being excellent in art, he is very courteous, well-bred, and of agreeable manners. He has had rivals in Venice, but none of any great importance, and has easily surpassed them with his splendid art, and thereby attracted to himself all the nobility. His earnings have been large, for he was always well paid for his works. . . . When Vasari, the writer of these lines, came to Venice in 1566 he paid a visit to Titian, who was a dear friend, and he found him, notwithstanding his great age, brushes in hand, painting, and had much pleasure in seeing his works and conversing with him. . . ."

CHAPTER XI

TITIAN'S TECHNIQUE. CONCLUSION

To speak of Titian's technique is somewhat embarrassing for one who is not a painter, and who, therefore, finds it especially difficult to explain things clearly, about which experienced artists by profession have not been able to come to a definite conclusion. A few of Titian's unfinished pictures and evidence resting on direct tradition form the basis of the following remarks.

The Venetian school of painting differed essentially in its method of work from the Florentine. The careful study of each single figure in preliminary drawings from the model and the planning out definitely of the composition in a cartoon, considered necessary and almost indispensable with the Florentines, appear not to have been at all the practice with Venetian artists. Thus only can it be explained why drawings by the Venetians are so extraordinarily rare; no cartoon seems to be in existence that can be traced back to this school.

Herein Titian followed a school tradition. There can be no doubt that he never drew much, and so the number of drawings by his hand that are known scarcely exceed a dozen. Many more than this are attributed to him in public collections; but a large portion of these sketches

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MURDER

ÈCOLE DES BEAUX-ARTS, PARIS

come from his imitator, Domenico Campagnola. Among the few that are Titian's, not one can be described as an exact study from a model in the academic school sense. The figures are laid in without definite outline, while shading is given in hasty cross-hatching. It is evident that the artist wishes just to sketch in suggestively the action motive, and has in view from the outset the pictorial aspect of the composition. Good examples of this are: "A Man Stabbing a Woman," study for the fresco in the Scuola del Santo, in the Ecole des Beaux-Arts, Paris; "Group of Apostles," study for an "Assumption," Louvre. He draws the composition of a master work, the "Peter Martyr," in diminutive figures, in which only the action of each of them is clearly given (sheet of studies at Lille); here he may be compared to the great Master who despised his talent as a draughtsman, and to whose clever sketches for the compositions on the Sistine Chapel ceiling these of Titian's are in a certain sense allied.

Once the design was almost sketched out Titian set to work to execute the picture, making use of models, especially for the nude, while he was painting. We know that when Alfonso d'Este asked him to come and finish in Ferrara the mythological subjects he had begun, Titian excused himself by saying that he could have male and female models more conveniently in Venice. He laid in the preparatory drawing of the composition in bold lines with the brush on the chalk ground.

A necessary consequence of this method, without careful preliminary work, was that as he advanced he frequently found himself obliged to make alterations. The most interesting proof of this, as well as the most valuable particulars on Titian's technical method, are afforded by

the "Madonna with the Cherries" at Vienna. When the canvas had become seriously damaged and threatened the preservation of this picture, it was decided to remove the layer of colour and transfer it to a fresh panel of wood, which was done between 1853 and 1859. On this occasion the first sketch was brought to light, and it appeared that not only were the pose of the head and the right hand of the Madonna different from the completed work, but the two saints to right and left were originally not intended to be introduced. August Wolf, the excellent connoisseur in Venetian paintings, to whom the Schack Gallery owes a large number of its copies of the works by this school, was able to perceive, while copying the Pesaro Madonna, that the two huge pillars of the Temple façade, which essentially contribute to the general impression produced by the picture, did not form part of the original design. Instead, the interior of a church was to have contained the saintly group, and—only visible on close inspection—the coffered barrel vaulting still gleams through the sky which now forms the background. When working at the "Triumph of Bacchus," the painter altered some figures that were not to his taste ("che non istanno a suo modo," writes the envoy). He took care by laying on strong solid colour over them that such alterations should not be visible.

The technical method Titian employed is very varied in different periods of his activity; even within a period he scarcely ever strictly followed one definite manner of working. The under-painting of the "Madonna with the Cherries" is, according to von Lützow, "carried out in strong colours, with a predominating reddish tint in the modelling of the flesh tones." It is generally accepted

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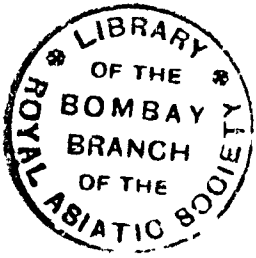
THE APOSTLES

PARIS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that Titian painted his pictures underneath in grey, even the figures in them, and worked the whole composition very carefully throughout in this stage, the parts in shadow being then kept lighter than they were intended afterwards to appear. This under-painting was then gone over several times with strong opaque colour, "the light parts with increasingly pure and light tones." "The shadows and reflected lights, on the other hand, were gone over more thinly and mostly with more transparent pigments, and . . . were worked from the lighter and paler tones into those darker and stronger in colour" (Wiegmann).

This method, however, can only be said to belong to the Master's earlier works. In his later years Titian modified very materially his views on colour, as well as his manner of painting. A couple of unfinished works—the Farnese group at Naples and his own portrait at Berlin—give us some insight into this. Crowe and Cavalcaselle describe the technical execution of the first-named picture as follows: "Laid on first with broad sweeps of brush in the thinnest of shades, the surfaces appear to have been worked over and coloured more highly with successive layers of pigment of similar quality, and modelled in the process to a delicate finish. The shadows were struck *in* with the same power as they were struck *out* in chips in the statues of Michelangelo. The accessories were all prepared in well-marked tints, subject to toning down by glazing, smirch, or scumble. White in light, dark in shadow, indicate forms, the whole blended into harmony by transparents, broken at last by flat masses of high light and concrete touch." In Titian's portrait of himself at Berlin we may notice that the figure was simply left out, when the greenish toned ground was thinly laid

on all round it, as may be seen clearly from the hands which show no outline marked out by the brush. On to this ground he put the local tints in sharp touches, painting, for instance, the chain of knighthood on the breast with yellowish-brown, into which are set here and there dabs of warm red, and the sleeves in pale violet, sweeping into it the strong lights with powerful strokes and a broad brush. A later over-painting would have merged these two colours, the violet and the white. In the hands the knuckles are put in with dabs of light red, the finger nails are outlined, and little specks of light are already put into them. While these parts are in an unfinished condition the head is most carefully worked out; the beard is treated broadly in greenish-white, and some single hairs detached from the mass are indicated with a fine brush.

It is to Titian's later technique that the tradition handed down to us by Marco Boschini mainly refers. His words deserve the more notice that they rely on information given him by the younger Palma, "who had the good fortune to receive the valuable teaching of Titian himself."

"He laid in his pictures with a mass of colours which served him as a ground-work for what he wanted to express. I myself have seen such powerful strokes swept in by him with solid pigment, sometimes with pure 'terra rossa'—and this served him for the half-tones—sometimes with a brush full of white lead; and with the same brush dipped in red, black, or yellow he picked out the lights. In four strokes he had sketched in a remarkably beautiful figure. Then he laid the picture against the wall, and left it there often for several months without looking at it again, and when he wanted to work at it he examined it very critically, as if it were his mortal enemy, in order to discover any

possible faults . . . then he took away a prominence here, set an arm straight there, and got a foot into the right position. So by degrees he brought his figures to the most perfect symmetry, and then he proceeded to do the same with the next picture. . . . The final touches he softened, occasionally modulating the highest lights into the half-tones and local colours with his finger; sometimes he would with his finger place a dark patch into a corner to strengthen the depth or add a bit of red to enliven the top surface. In this way he finished his figures. Palma assured me he had put the finishing touches to his pictures more with his fingers than his brush."

The same author has also preserved for us sayings of Titian's own on his manner of working. "He who would be a painter needs to know but three colours, white, black, and red, and to have them well in hand (*haverli in man*)." "To arrive at life-like flesh tint the carnation should not be finished *alla prima*, but different tints should be laid one over the other."

Finally, Titian personally undertook the varnishing, making use of a yellowish varnish—probably this he did after a stranger had injured one of his Ferrara pictures by unskilful handling—and then he allowed the picture to dry in the sun. Not until this operation was completed to his satisfaction did he let the work pass out of his hands.

Sometimes it happened that he undertook some alterations later, even after a picture had already reached its destination. We have an example of this from the history of the Mythological series for Ferrara; he remembered, so he wrote to the Duke, that some azure blue was wanting (in one of the set just mentioned), and he begged that some

of that colour might be prepared for him, in order that he might use it when he retouched the picture.

From all these individual traits we may gather that Titian was an artist who was careful and conscientious in his work. If he did not always take the same amount of trouble in each case—the person of his patron or the price might affect him—we may say, in general, that he was not a rapid painter (*fa presto*), at least, never in the same sense as Tintoretto. Still, he was capable of doing wonders in a short time, such as that portrait of Aretino, which Marcolini had in his possession and boasted that it was produced in three days—but this is an exception. For the "Magdalen" he took a month, though the Duke of Mantua was very urgent to have it. The picture was to be begun on March 11, 1531, was really put in hand on the 18th, and on the 22nd so far advanced that "it might be shown to any eminent painter"; on April 12 it was finished and able to be varnished. It happened not seldom that the time of completion was extended to several years. It was seven years before his Pesaro Madonna was ready (1519–1526); he took three for his two Diana pictures; and the "Last Supper" in the Escurial again occupied seven years.

The method by which Titian's portraits were produced requires special attention. The greater number of those who sat to him belonged to the highest classes. He could scarcely insist on long and frequent sittings from princes, statesmen, and soldiers; he had to be content if his model condescended to sit quiet for a short time. Titian's experience doubtless suggested a remark of Aretino's, who once wrote that he felt like a painter when the impatience (*instabilità*) of the prince, whose

portrait he is taking, will not allow him to determine the contour of the eye or the profile of the nose. Here the artist's wonderfully rapid power of perception, and the certainty with which he could wield his brush, stood him in good stead. "In a few strokes the true likeness, the spirit of a portrait, is caught," so says Aretino; in the shortest space of time Titian would dash off a sketch true to life; "whilst a dauber is painting you a chest, Titian will sketch you a head," so writes Aretino to Paulus Manutius. Titian took the sketch to his studio, had the armour or costume sent to him there, which the sitter was to wear in the picture, and worked out the whole at his leisure. We may, however, presume that when it was possible he put the finishing touches to these portraits with the model before him.

For this we may cite a few instances among many. When Titian, on his way back from Augsburg, went to Innsbruck in 1548 to paint there a group of King Ferdinand's daughters, he remained in the Tyrolese capital about sixteen days. He took the portraits of the princesses with him to Venice. The Mantuan envoy saw them there in December. "They are not completed, for the dresses have still to be painted, but the heads are quite finished (*finitissime*), and nothing more is wanting in them." In the same way Titian completed at home the portraits of Philip of Spain and of Alva, for which he had made studies during his short stay at Milan. He liked to paint even the details of the costume from nature. When working at the "Allocution of Vasto" he made Aretino beg Girolamo Martinengo to lend him a breastplate, together with a helmet and armlets, "as they are now worn," adding expressly that he wanted to use them for his

picture. The black armour that John Frederick of Saxony had worn at Mühlberg stood for a long time in Titian's studio when he was painting the portrait of the Elector. The breastplate Charles V. wears in his equestrian portrait is not a fancy suit of armour, but copied faithfully from the original, which is called the "Mühlberg breastplate" in the royal armoury. These examples might easily be multiplied.

We should like to conclude these short remarks with some notes on the durability of Titian's pictures, that test of conscientiousness in an artist's mode of working; but unfortunately no data for this are available. Taking them all together, we must say that not one picture by the Master has come down to us intact. For this unsatisfactory state of preservation Titian is not responsible. The frequent journeyings the majority of his pictures have had to make before finding a home in some public gallery have been the cause of all sorts of injury; while those works which have remained in their original position in the churches have for the most part been so blackened by the dust centuries have deposited on them, or by the smoke from candles, that they are disfigured sometimes almost beyond recognition. Their effect has often been spoiled by the folly of their owners, who have cut off or added portions to the pictures; repainting and restorations have frequently altered the impression they were intended to produce. But even from beneath this overlaying the art of the Master shines forth and victoriously asserts its ancient power.

Titian's career is without parallel in the history of art. An artist, who exceeded the average span of man's life by

a generation, who was still working with full vigour and freshness at a time when all who had grown up and struggled into fame together with him had long since passed away, is a truly astonishing spectacle.

We like to think that a wise Providence so ordered it. Raphael and Giorgione died young, but in their short lives, which did not last four decades, they bestowed on art new aims, new tasks, the highest perfection within their own domain. If Titian had departed this life early, he would not have fulfilled his great mission. For can it be said that the importance of his life's work really lies in the creations of his youth, are they the purest expression of his genius and the best that he has bequeathed to the world?

No one will deny the exquisite charm of his early works. The grace and loveliness of his Madonnas, the brilliancy, the gaiety, the spirit of his mythological pictures, attract us irresistibly. It is easy to explain why of all Titian's works "Sacred and Profane Love" is the most extolled and the most popular, why the "Madonna with the Cherries" or the "Madonna with St. Anthony" are among the favourites of the public. No one will venture to blame the taste that prefers these pictures.

But it is not on account of these works that Titian deserves to be called the head of the Venetian School, and that he may lay claim to the distinction of being the greatest colourist of Italy and one of the greatest Masters of all time. For in them he had not yet made himself free, had not arrived at that perfect independence, without which no one may lay claim to the name of "Master." So long as Titian's art was lyrical, he was following the same paths as Giorgione, and without quite attaining to the same perfection, for Giorgione was by temperament

lyrical, but Titian was so only while under the overwhelming influence of his friend, and therefore only for a short time.

It is wonderfully interesting to follow how his real nature is gradually stirred and unfolded, and how his genius soars boldly upwards the moment that he realises his dramatic power. Even his first works in this period, those which in their colour most often remind us of the past, exhibit a storm of passionate feeling, of animated action, so bold and direct, so full of life, that we recognise wherein the true gift of the Master lies. Titian passed with rapid strides through the whole range of problems possible in the altar-picture; in the Assunta he introduced into Venice entirely new subject-matter; he transported "The Madonna with Saints" out of a world of quiet existence into the restless and changeful conditions of real life; he set aside the old ideas of composition and removed the principal group from the central line of the picture, and by means of his structure of lines and his ordered harmony of colour pervading the whole, created a new and dramatically life-like presentment of the old theme. In the "Peter Martyr" he ventured to offer to veneration as a sacred subject the martyrdom itself; with all the power at his command, and with complete success, he pressed figures, colour, and scenery into his service in the execution of his self-imposed task.

At the same time, as a portrait-painter, the same change took place in Titian. In this domain also he had begun as a lyrical artist, and had created portraits full of deep feeling, to which he seems to have imparted as much of his own soul as possible. This constitutes the charm of these portraits, as it is also their weakness; we

wonder if all these persons were really animated by one and the same emotion. He gradually shakes himself free from this somewhat indefinite all-pervading mood, sees the special and characteristic points in an individual with ever-increasing clearness of vision, and as the personality reveals itself to him, by various small traits, he imparts it to the beholder; bearing, attitude, costume, the expression of the eye, the turn of the head, all becomes distinctive, eloquent, and true to life. By his constant advance in this direction he gradually became the greatest portrait-painter in his own country, and in his works the *élite* of the Europe of that day still live for us. He reveals the inmost soul of his model with a clearness and keenness which testify to his extraordinarily cool observation. Now only the artist in Titian appears to be interested, not Titian the man. He observes the carriage, the gestures, sees the soul reflected in the eye, and his hand records these observations with triumphant certainty. At the same time, he is ever approaching more nearly to the greatest simplicity and breadth of view. The smaller, accidental, accessory features which might easily help to characterise the personality of a man are less and less made use of; instead they are summed up together and the quintessence, as it were, of a man's being is presented. Aristocratic refinement is as natural to his sitters as is prudent reticence. In these portraits the hands always play an important part, they complete the impression conveyed to us by the expression of the face. In modelling them Titian is never conventional, which cannot always be said of great artists, as, for instance, of Rubens, and he belongs also to the few who have not been afraid of the hands competing with the head in colour.

It is too easily forgotten that the artist who painted the "Peter Martyr" had already approached the sixth decade of his life, and had already passed the half of this when he produced "The Presentation of the Virgin Mary in the Temple," the most charming and the most cheerful in colour of his works that we possess, full of natural movement. Here colour, which till then in great masses could not fail to divide groups, serves to enhance the dramatic effect; it glows or fades in accompaniment to the animation of the scene, and raises the principal figure into the central point in the picture. Together with a few others, this work represents a short period in which the Master indulged to the full in richness of colour.

It was not till late that all his powers reached their highest development. At a time when, with the majority of men, life is drawing to a close, Titian was preparing for his greatest conquest in the domain of Art. Heretofore the grouping of figures in a composition conveyed the force of its dramatic import; now colour takes the place of grouping as the most prominent and essential factor in the composition, and by the way in which the Master managed to put dramatic force into colour he achieved his highest success.

The cheerful brightness of former days seems to have departed from his latest creations, and this has prevented them from attracting much admiration. Their profound and serious grandeur must be studied to be understood. In the works of these last decades all is passion; composition, movement, colour—the last most of all. It is colour that gives to these pictures a force which impresses us strongly and can never be forgotten. Whether the subject be sacred or mythological, everything is subordinated

to the colour problem. Pictures like the "St. Lawrence," the "Transfiguration," the second version of the "Crowning with Thorns," the "Shepherd and the Nymph," serve specially to illustrate this tendency. What changes had taken place in the Master that he who in his younger days had painted the "Bacchanals" and the "Assunta," and again, as an older man, the "Presentation in the Temple," should in his old age prefer a palette to which can be applied the term "colourless colouring"! For here each separate colour has no longer any right of existence, but has to give way to one great magic effect of light, which alters its essence, fuses it, and combines it with other tones into a wonderful whole, full of illuminating power, into the most beautiful colour effect that even Venetian art has ever seen. The creations of Titian's latest period often have a surprising affinity with works produced in his last years by the master to whom belongs of right the honourable title of colourist in the latest sense of the word—Rembrandt, who, like the Master of Cadore, began with a smooth method of painting and rich local colours, and ended with a perfectly different colouring and a broader and bolder manner of painting.

This latest Titian, to whom is due the name of the upholder of Venetian fame, touched upon colour problems the time for which had not yet arrived. In the landscapes he gives us as backgrounds to his pictures—often mere narrow strips of nature—he foreshadows those great discoveries of which our century has reason to be proud. With the most restricted means he often gives us renderings of the spirit of a landscape which show how wonderfully acute his eye was.

Titian's personality was too strong, he saw too far into the future for his disciples to be able to follow him. Many artists have called themselves his pupils, but it is not worth while for us here to linger over them. The best known of them, Paris Bordone, owes his fame to one picture; this, in the happiest hour of his career, he painted in rich colours, and it attracts us strongly, not so much on account of its artistic value as because it embodies for us a period full of splendour and brilliancy that we are glad for a moment to revive.

Those great men who in truth belong to Titian's following were not his pupils, and were too independent to become imitators of his art. Paolo Veronese and Tintoretto each pursued their own paths, and found for themselves their own special form and treatment of colour. The great intellectual revolution which took place in Italy about the middle of the century, and may be traced in Titian's later works wherein breathes already the new spirit in religion, receives in these two painters its expression in Art. They contribute to the triumph of Allegory, which followed in the wake of this revolution.

Succeeding ages have vied with each other in their veneration for Titian and their admiration of his works. In Spain his art, so splendidly represented in the collections of the ruling royal house, stirred up artists in manifold directions; the greatest painter of that country bore witness both at home and in Venice to his reverence for Titian. Of all the great Masters, Rubens was without doubt the most enthusiastic admirer of Titian's art. When quite a young man he copied in Rome the Bacchanalian series, then in the possession of the Ludovisi, and later, in Mantua, the pictures by the Master to be found in that

city. In Madrid, whither he was sent on a diplomatic mission, he excited astonishment by copying one picture after another of Titian's; and even at the present day may be seen at the Prado Titian's "Fall of Man" and the copy by the hand of Rubens. He did not paint these pictures for sale, but kept them for himself, and adorned with them his palace at Antwerp. Notwithstanding the impulse he received from Titian's works, and although to a certain extent he was allied in spirit with Titian, and therefore may be called his successor, he never experienced his influence so strongly as did Van Dyck, his more pliable pupil, whose works are frequently reminiscent of Titian.

Among Titian's admirers Rembrandt may also be reckoned, though he never once had an opportunity of seeing the Master's great works at Venice and in Spain. But to make up for this he kept engravings of the whole series of Titian's works in his house, and, as already alluded to, borrowed occasionally from the great Venetian.

Titian's fame has lasted more evenly and been subjected to fewer fluctuations than even that of Raphael and Michelangelo, who at times have been judged somewhat coldly. It was left for the men of our century when they were beginning to regard the colourists as artists of the second rank, to imagine for one brief moment that they might cast doubts on the greatness and majesty of Titian's art.

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LIST OF PICTURES

Many of the particulars the author has taken from the official catalogues of the public Galleries, from Crowe and Cavalcaselle's work, and in some cases from Lafenestre's guide-books. Of the pictures marked with an asterisk the author has not seen the original.

Pictures in Great Britain have the measurements given in feet and inches; the others are measured by the metrical system.

AUSTRIA

***Trent.**—Barone Valentino de Salvadori. *Portrait of Cristoforo Madruzzo.* Canvas, 2.10 × 1.10.

Vasari mentions this portrait just after the one of the Ambassador Mendozza (vii. p. 445), done in 1541; and his indication is confirmed by a letter dated July 1542, in which the portrait is mentioned as finished. It is one of the few full-length portraits by Titian. Morelli attributed it erroneously to Moroni. Formerly in the Castle of Trent, it remained in the Madruzzo family, and passing through various hands, it came in 1835 to the Salvadori (*see* Oberziner, "Il ritratto di Cr. Madruzzo," Trent, 1900, where a reproduction is given).

Vienna.—Imperial Gallery. *Portrait of Fabrizio Salvaresio.* Canvas, 1.12 × 0.87 (No. 150). Signed: MDLVIII. Fabricius Salvaresius. Annum Agens L. Titiani Opus.

Though damaged and repainted, it seems to be a genuine work, but not of very good quality. From the collection of Archduke Leopold Wilhelm, which, in 1662, came into possession of the Emperor Leopold.

Vienna.—*Portrait of Isabella d'Este.* Canvas, 1.03 × 0.64 (No. 163).

This portrait was delivered to the Princess in 1536, as is established by one of her letters; but since 1534 the picture by Francia which had to

serve as model, was in Titian's hands (*see* Luzio, "I ritratti d' Isabella d'Este," p. 432). It was still in the Mantuan collections in the seventeenth century; Rubens made a copy of it; in the collection of Archduke Leopold Wilhelm, 1659.

Vienna. — *Portrait of a Man* ("Parma"). Canvas, 1.12 × 0.84 (No. 167).

This picture must have been painted about 1511, as there is to be found in one of the Paduan frescoes a head remarkably like it in style. Compare it with the so-called Alessandro de' Medici, Hampton Court. Ridolfi saw it about 1648 in the house of Bartolomeo della Nave, Venice (i. p. 152). Collection of Archduke Leopold Wilhelm.

Vienna.—*The Gipsy Madonna.* Wood, 0.67 × 0. 84 (No. 176).

This seems the earliest known version of the Madonna we possess of Titian's. As for the composition, it is very Bellinesque, while for the conception it stands close by Giorgione. There is a modern tendency to ascribe it altogether to Giorgione, but comparing it with the Virgins of this Master—in the pictures at Castelfranco and Madrid—one cannot overlook the strongly marked differences. From the collection of Archduke Leopold Wilhelm.

Vienna.—*Portrait of a Man* ("Benedetto Varchi"). Canvas, 1.16 × 0.92 (No. 177). Signed: Titianus F.

The indication that the person here represented is Benedetto Varchi, the historian, seems in no way proved. From the style, this portrait must have been painted about 1550, possibly somewhat later. Though restored, it seems to me a genuine work. From the collection of Archduke Leopold Wilhelm.

Vienna.—*The Ecce Homo.* Canvas, 2.62 × 3.60 (No. 178). Signed: Titianus Eques Ces. F. 1543.

Painted for Giovanni d'Anna, a Flemish merchant living in Venice. Still in the possession of the family in 1580. In the early seventeenth century it formed a part of the collection belonging to the Duke of Buckingham. Sold with it at Antwerp, 1648, and bought by Archduke Leopold Wilhelm. Mentioned various times as preserved in Prague, it was transferred to Vienna in 1723.

Vienna.—*The Madonna with the Cherries.* Wood, 0.81 × 1.00 (No. 180).

This picture shows the early art of Titian in its full development, and must be therefore put down at a not too early period. As for style, it must be compared with the "Santa Conversazione" at Dresden, the "Tribute Money," or the "Annunciation," Treviso. It may be of about 1512 to 1515. From the collection of Archduke Leopold Wilhelm.

Vienna.—*The Little Tambourine Player.* Canvas, 0.52 × 0.51 (No. 181).

This charming work seems to be of about 1510; it has especially suffered from repaintings. From the collection of Archduke Leopold Wilhelm.

Vienna.—*Portrait of Jacopo Strada.* Canvas, 1.25 × 0.95 (No. 182). Signed: Titianus F.

A long inscription gives name and titles of the person represented, and the year 1566. But from the correspondences of Stoppio to Fugger we know that this portrait was painted in 1568 (*see* Zimmermann, "Zur richtigen Datirung" . . p. 849 ff). Collection of Archduke Leopold Wilhelm.

Vienna.—*Shepherd and Nymph.* Canvas, 1.54 × 1.87 (No. 186).

One of the finest works of Titian's late time, painted about 1565 and possibly even later; it is like a sketch. The history not known until the seventeenth century, when it belonged to Archduke Leopold Wilhelm.

Vienna.—*Portrait of John Frederic, Elector of Saxony.* Canvas, 1.10 × 0.84 (No. 191).

Done in Augsburg, 1548 or 1550. A picture of this Prince, together with another in full armour, is described in the collection of Queen Mary, 1558. Philip IV. of Spain presented the Marquis de Leganés with it (*see*: Iusti, "Verzeichnis," No. 42). At Vienna first mentioned in the seventeenth century.

Vienna.—*The Girl in a Fur.* Canvas, 0.86 × 0.70 (No. 197).

There can be no doubt that this picture was done about 1535; it seems to be painted from the same model as the "Bella" in the Pitti

Gallery; compare it further with the woman in the "Allegory of d'Avalos" (Louvre), and with the St. Catherine in the London picture. It was presented to Charles I. at Madrid in 1623. Probably bought from his collection for the Emperor.

Vienna.—COUNT CZERNIN. *Portrait of Doge Andrea Gritti.* Canvas. Signed: Titianus E. F. (?)

Attributed by Crowe and Cavalcaselle to Pordenone; this seems in no way probable. The style of this work indicates not the earlier period of the reign of the Doge (1523 to 1538); it approaches more the portraits done after 1540 (as Aretino's in the Pitti). From an unpublished document, communicated by Dr. Ludwig, we learn that as late as 1540 Titian had to paint a portrait of Gritti for the Hall of the Great Council. The Vienna portrait may be very likely of the same time.

BELGIUM

Antwerp Gallery.—*Jacopo Pesaro doing homage to St. Peter.* Wood, 1.45 × 1.83 (No. 357).

Painted 1502-3. In the beginning of the seventeenth century it was still in Venice, as one may suppose in finding a sketch of it in Van Dyck's sketch-book (Plate VII. in Lionel Cust's publication). It came afterwards into the collection of Charles I. In the later seventeenth century in the Church of the Nunnery of S. Pascual at Madrid (*see* Iusti, "Verzeichnis," No. 34). King William I. of Netherlands gave it in 1823 to the Antwerp Gallery.

BRITISH ISLES

***Alnwick Castle.**—THE DUKE OF NORTHUMBERLAND. *The Cornaro Family.* Canvas, 6 ft. 8 in. × 8 ft. 5 in.

Accepted as genuine by Crowe and Cavalcaselle, and put down to the year 1560. A group of nine figures kneeling at an altar. Judging from the reproduction, it seems almost Tintorettesque in style. Bought in 1656, from Van Dyck's collection, by Algernon Percy, Duke of Northumberland.

Cobham Hall.—Earl of Darnley. *Portrait of a Man* (the so-called "Ariosto"). Canvas, 32 × 25½ in. Signed: Titianus TV.

Of Titian's most Giorgionesque period, and therefore painted about 1506 to 1508. There is no reason to doubt the inscription. One ought to compare it with portraits by Giorgione (as the Youth in Berlin or the Knight of Malta in the Uffizi), to be convinced that there is a wide difference in style, though the conception is remarkably similar. In the early seventeenth century it belonged to Don Alfonso Lopez, Spanish Ambassador at Amsterdam.

Hampton Court.—*Portrait of Man.* Canvas, 3 ft. 5 in. × 2 ft. 10 in. (No. 113). Signed: AN.XXV. 1545.

Crowe and Cavalcaselle ascribe it, with some hesitation, to Paris Bordone; other authorities to Tintoretto: Berenson treats it as genuine work by Titian. It is in style remarkably like such portraits as "John Frederic of Saxony," Vienna, or "Philip of Spain" in Madrid. The date may be therefore a few years later, as the inscription is repainted. Collection of Charles I.

Hampton Court.—*Portrait of a Man* (the so-called "Alessandro de Medici"). Canvas (No. 149).

It has in style its companion in the "Parma" at Vienna, and must have been painted 1511 (about). Shows the period of transition from the purely Giorgionesque style to Titian's quite personal one (compare it on one side with the Cobham Hall "Ariosto," on the other with the "Homme au gant"). This portrait is said to have belonged to the collection of Charles I. (*see* Phillips, p. 92); later in the Cabinet Van Reynst, which, after the death of its owner, was presented to Charles II.

***Kingston Lacy.**—Mr. Ralph Bankes. *Portrait of Savorgnano.*

As a genuine portrait in Crowe and Cavalcaselle; their idea was confirmed when this portrait was shown to the public in the Old Masters, Exhibition, 1902, and judged "of his later period" (*Athenæum*, March 1, 1902). Formerly in the Marescalchi Palace, Bologna.

London.—National Gallery. *Holy Family with a Shepherd.* Canvas, 3 ft. 5½ in. × 4 ft. 8 in. (No. 4).

This is the most Palmesque of all known pictures by Titian; compare it especially with Palma's painting of the same subject in the Louvre.

Painted about 1510 to 1512. Titian's authorship cannot be doubted seriously. Formerly in the Borghese Palace, Rome. Bequeathed to the Gallery in 1831.

London.—*Bacchus and Ariadne.* Canvas, 5 ft. 9 in. × 6 ft. 3 in. (No. 35). Signed : Ticianus F.

This is the last of the Bacchanals Titian painted for Duke Alfonso d'Este. In August 1522 it was not quite finished, as is proved by a letter of the envoy to the Duke. Delivered in the beginning of the following year. In the Castle of Ferrara up to 1598, when Cardinal Aldobrandini took it to Rome. Later in the possession of the Ludovisi family and bought in 1806 by Mr. Buchanan. Purchased for the Gallery in 1826.

London.—*Noli me tangere.* Canvas, 3 ft. 6½ in. × 2 ft. 11½ in. (No. 270).

Painted about 1511-12. The landscape perfectly corresponding with the one which Titian painted for Giorgione's Venus in Dresden. Compare the Magdalen with the figure of the girl in the "Three Ages," or the one in the "Worship of Venus." Supposed to be the picture which belonged, in 1662, to the Gallery Muselli at Verona (*see* Campori, "Raccolta di cataloghi," Modena, 1870, p. 178), but the description does not entirely correspond. Galleries d'Orléans, Champernowne and Rogers. Bequeathed by the latter to the Gallery in 1855.

London.—*The Virgin with St. Catherine and St. John the Baptist.* Canvas, 3 ft. 3½ in. × 4 ft. 7½ in. (No. 635). Signed : Tician.

Painted about 1530 ; its style has great affinity with the "Vierge au lapin." The Duke Medina de las Torres made a present of it to King Philip IV. ; it was hung in the Sacristy of the Escorial (*see* Iusti, "Verzeichnis," No. 23). Collections Coesvelt and Beaucousin. Bought in 1860 for the Gallery.

London.—Wallace Collection. *Perseus and Andromeda.* Canvas.

Painted for Philip II. and mentioned in a letter of the autumn 1554, finished probably somewhat later. Its history not known after the time it left the Spanish Collections. Then in the Galerie d'Orléans and sold in London 1798. Bought at the sale by Mr. Bryan. In Old Hertford House in 1857, where it was described as a Veronese by Waagen. Entirely forgotten and rediscovered by Claude Phillips in the bath-room,

Hertford House (*see* his article, *Nineteenth Century*, May 1900). A replica in the Hermitage.

London.—Bridgewater House, EARL OF ELLESMERE. *The Virgin with St. John the Baptist, adored by a Donor.*

So Palmesque that Crowe and Cavalcaselle give it in their list of pictures ascribed to this master. Morelli already acknowledged it as a genuine work by Titian. It is also very Giorgionesque, and therefore probably painted about 1510 to 1512, at about the same date as the "Three Ages of Life." A very curious replica, with St. Catherine and St. Jerome, by a pupil of Titian, in the Glasgow Corporation Galleries (No. 484).

London.—Bridgewater House. *The Three Ages of Life.*

Belongs to the period when the influence of Giorgione and of Palma is striking in Titian's art, about 1510 to 1512. Vasari describes the picture as in possession of a Giovanni da Castel Bolognese, at Faenza (vii. p. 435). Mentioned later in the collection of the Cardinal of Augsburg ; possibly taken there by King Gustav Adolph. It belonged then to Queen Cristina and is described in the inventories of her gallery (*see* Campori, "Raccolta," p. 344). The Queen's Gallery passed through the hands of Cardinal Azzolino and Prince Odescalchi, who sold it, in 1722, to the French Regent. Sold with the Galerie d'Orléans in London, 1798, it was bought with three other Titians by the Duke of Bridgewater.

London.—Bridgewater House. *Venus with the Shell.*

Probably of the same period as the earlier pictures done for Ferrara, about 1515 to 1520. Belonged to the Gallery of Queen Cristina (*see* Campori, p. 341), and went through the same hands as the picture just mentioned.

London.—Bridgewater House. *Actæon and Diana.* Canvas. Signed : Titianus F.

The picture, together with that following, was painted for King Philip II. and finished in 1559. Preserved in the Bóvedas di Tizian (*see* therefore under "Madrid"), they were given, in 1704, by King Philip V. to the Duc de Grammont. From his collection bought by the Regent they belonged up to the end of the eighteenth century to

the Galerie d'Orléans (*see above*). Replicas by a Spanish artist in Madrid.

London.—Bridgewater House. *Diana and Callisto.* Canvas. Signed: Titianus F.

For its history, *see above.*

London.—Dr. Ludwig Mond. *The Virgin and Child.* Canvas, 29½ in. × 27½ in.

Very fine example of Titian's late style. Done about 1565 and possibly later. There is an engraving in existence, by Petrus de Iode, junior, "avec privilège du Roy." Therefore it is probable that the original belonged to a French or Flemish collection. Bought at the Dudley sale by its present owner.

London.—Mr. Julius Wernher. *Portrait of Giacomo Doria.* Signed: Ticianus.

Quite unknown up to the present time, and first published by Herbert Cook (*Burlington Magazine*, vol. i. p. 185). It cannot have been painted earlier than 1550, but very likely it is about 1560, as there is a strong likeness in style to the portrait of Man in Dresden, dated 1561. Furthermore, we know that Titian presented in 1561 Agostino Doria (the son of the person thus represented), with a portrait (*see* Liruti, "Notizie," vol. ii. p. 292). Other portraits belonging to the Doria family are reproduced by Van Dyck in his sketch-book (Plate xxviii. in L. Cust's publication).

FRANCE

***Besançon.**—Musée. *Portrait of Nicolas Perrenot Granvella.*

Painted during Titian's first visit to Augsburg in 1548. Afterwards in the Granvella Palace in Besançon, and mentioned in the inventory made after the death of the last Granvella in 1607 (published by Castan).

Paris.—The Louvre. *The Virgin with three Saints.* Canvas, 1.08 × 1.32 (No. 1577).

The Virgin is worshipped by the Saints Stephen, Jerome, and George. This picture may belong to the period about 1508–1510. The type of the Virgin is like the one in the Madrid "Santa Conversazione" and the

Annunciation," Treviso; later than the first and earlier than the last named. Compare the St. Stephen with the servant's head in the Salome picture of the Doria Gallery. A type like the St. Jerome is to be found in one of the Padua frescoes. From the collection of Louis XIV. The replica in the Vienna Gallery (No. 166) is of inferior quality.

Paris.—*The "Vierge au lapin."* Canvas, 0.70 × 0.84 (No. 1578). Signed: Ticianus F.

Supposed by Crowe and Cavalcaselle to be the picture of a Madonna with St. Catherine mentioned in one of Titian's letters to the Marquess of Mantua in 1530. Though it is not proved, this date—about 1530 or not much later—is probably the right one. Collection of Louis XIV.

Paris.—*The Supper at Emmaus.* Canvas, 1.69 × 2.14 (No. 1581). Signed: Ticianus F.

The date of this picture remains uncertain. Crowe and Cavalcaselle put it down to the year 1547 (about); probably it was painted somewhat earlier, about 1543; see the various reports of it with the great "Ecce Homo" in the Vienna Gallery of this year. Belonged to the Mantuan pictures bought in 1628 by Charles I. Collections Iabach and Louis XIV. In the eighteenth century in the sacristy of the Chapel at Versailles. A replica, which, from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century was preserved in the Ducal Palace, Venice, is said to belong now to the Earl of Yarborough.

Paris.—*The Crowning with Thorns.* Wood, 3.03 × 1.80 (No. 1583). Signed: Titianus F.

Crowe and Cavalcaselle give as date for this picture the year 1559; but it may be earlier, perhaps ten or twelve years. Painted for the Church Sta. Maria delle Grazie, Milan, it passed into the Louvre at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Titian repeated the composition himself in his latest days; this picture is at Munich.

Paris.—*The Entombment.* Canvas, 1.48 × 2.15 (No. 1584).

The picture was done for the Marquess of Mantua; at what time is unknown. The right date may be about 1525, but a later period is not excluded. In style the "Assumption" in Verona comes nearest to it. Bought in 1628 by Charles I.; then collections Iabach and Louis XIV. A replica formerly in the Manfrin Gallery, Venice, now belonging to

private collector at Vercelli, is far inferior, though it has been claimed to be Titian's original work.

Paris.—*St. Jerome.* Canvas, 0.80 × 1.02 (No. 1585).

This picture, very remarkable as a piece of landscape-painting, may have been painted, as Crowe and Cavalcaselle believe, about 1531 ; but it can be of a much later period as well. Possibly from the Mantua Collection. Collection of Louis XIV.

Paris.—*Jupiter and Antiope* ("Venus del Pardo"). Canvas, 1.96 × 3.85 (No. 1587).

It is not known at what exact date this picture was painted. Belonging to the pictures Titian executed for Philip II., it seems, from the style, to be of the first years of his working for the King (the fiftieth) ; possibly the artist used an earlier work, left unfinished for some unknown reason. In 1582 it hung in the Prado over a door (*see* Argote de Molina, Discorso sobre la monteria Sevilla, 1582). Charles I. was presented with it in 1623. From his collection bought by Iabach, then collections Mazarin and Louis XIV.

Paris.—*Portrait of Francis I.* Canvas, 1.09 × 0.89 (No. 1588).

Painted about 1539 ; Aretino speaks of a portrait of Francis which he offered to the King in this year ; another is mentioned in the Urbino correspondence of this time. Probably the painter worked from a medal, as the pure profile seems to indicate. Of the known replicas, the one belonging to Professor von Lenbach, Munich (formerly Palazzo Giustiniani, Padua), is possibly the original sketch.

Paris.—*The Allegory of d'Avalos.* Canvas, 1.21 × 1.07 (No. 1589).

About the traditional name there is certainly some mistake, but as the subject remains obscure, it may be left to the picture. It must have been painted about 1530 to 1535, at the same period as the "Vierge au lapin," or the Madonna with St. Catherine in London, and not very far in time from the "Presentation of the Virgin." The various replicas in existence, differing as to detail, show that this composition must have been very famous. Perhaps from the collection of Charles I. (*see* Phillips, "The Picture Gallery," p. 94). Collection of Louis XIV.

Paris.—*The Lady at her Toilet* ("Alfonso d'Este and Laura Dianti"). Canvas, 0.96 × 0.76 (No. 1590).

This picture must be assigned to the period between 1510 and 1515; it is later than the "Vanitas," Munich, earlier than the "Flora" in the Uffizi. Collections of Charles I., Iabach and Louis XIV.

Its old title was "Titien et sa Maîtresse." In a replica which was bought, in 1815, by Cicognara at Ferrara, the man in the background shows the likeness of Duke Alfonso. Its present owner is unknown (*see* Malamanni, "Memorie di L. Cicognara," Venice, 1888, vol. ii. p. 112; Cicognara, "Relazione di due quadri," Venice, 1816).

Paris.—*Portrait of a Man.* Canvas, 1.18 × 0.96 (No. 1591).

Half-length figure, almost *en face*, dressed in black. This very noble portrait, recalling the central figure of the "Concert" (Pitti Gallery), belongs to Titian's earlier years, and may have been painted between 1510 and 1520. Collection of Louis XIV.

Paris.—1592. *L'homme au gant.* Canvas, 1.00 × 0.89 (No. 1592). Signed: Ticianus F.

It certainly belongs to the same period as the portrait just mentioned. Compare it with the figure of St. John in the "Entombment" in the Louvre. Collection of Louis XIV.

Paris.—*Portrait of a Man.* Canvas, 0.99 × 0.82 (No. 1593).

Half-length figure turned to right, head to the left; left hand resting on a pilaster. Probably about 1540 to 1545. Collections Mazarin and Louis XIV.

GERMANY

Berlin.—Royal Museum. *Titian's Daughter Lavinia.* Canvas, 1.02 × 0.82 (No. 166).

Painted about 1550–1555. Bought 1832 at Florence from Abbate Celotti. A similar picture mentioned in the collection of Emperor Rodolphe II. at Prague (Frimmel, "Geschichte der Wiener Gemäldesammlungen," i. p. 112). A fine replica, done probably in the artist's workshop, belongs to the Earl of Malmesbury (Venetian Exhibition, No. 217).

Berlin.—*Titian's own likeness.* Canvas, 0.96 × 0.75 (No. 163).

Painted about 1550. Unfinished. Discovered by L. Cicognara about 1815 in "Casa Barbarigo del ramo di San Raffaele" and sold to Solly, with whose collection it passed into the Berlin Gallery (Malamanni, "Memorie del Conte Leopoldo Cicognara," Venice, 1888, vol. ii. p. 112). Replicas in the Uffizi and at Vienna.

Berlin.—*Portrait of the Daughter of Roberto Strozzi.* Canvas, 1.15 × 0.98 (No. 160A). Signed: Titianus. Dated: MDXLII.

In the beginning of the eighteenth century in the Strozzi Palace, Rome (Fr. Deseine, "Rome Moderne," Leiden, 1713, i. p. 290). Bought 1878 from the Strozzi Palace, Florence.

Dresden.—Royal Gallery. *Santa Conversazione* (Madonna, with the Saints Magdalen, Paul, Jerome, and John the Baptist). Wood, 1.38 × 1.91½ (No. 168).

Painted about 1515. Bought 1747 from Casa Grimani dei Servi, Venice. Crowe and Cavalcaselle: "Seems to us a very beautiful early work by Andrea Schiavone." This attribution is rejected by all connoisseurs.

Dresden.—*The Tribute Money.* Wood, 0.75 × 0.56 (No. 169). Signed: Ticianus F.

Mentioned by Vasari (vii. p. 434) as being painted for Duke Alfonso d'Este about 1514. This is probably the right date, and not, as Crowe and Cavalcaselle and Morelli suppose, the year 1508 (about). Passed at the beginning of the seventeenth century into the Ducal Collection, Modena. Bought from that in 1746 for Dresden.

Dresden.—*Titian's Daughter Lavinia as Bride.* Canvas, 1.02 × 0.86 (No. 170).

Painted probably 1555, in the year of Lavinia's wedding. 1685 in the collection of Prince Cesare Ignazio d'Este (Campori, "Raccolta di Cataloghi," p. 310). Bought 1746 at Modena.

Dresden.—*Titian's Daughter Lavinia as a Married Woman.* Canvas, 1.03 × 0.86½ (No. 171). Signed: Lavinia Tit. V. F. Ab. Eo. P.

Painted about 1565. Ducal Palace at Ferrara. Passed, in the seventeenth century, into the Ducal Collection at Modena. Bought 1746 for Dresden.

Dresden.—*Portrait of a Man.* Canvas, 1.38 × 1.16 (No. 172). Signed: Titianus Pictor Et Aeques Caesaris. Dated: MDLXI.

Probably portrait of a painter, as is indicated by the colour-box to the left. Bought from Casa Marcello, Venice, before 1753.

Dresden.—*Portrait of a Lady with a Vase.* Canvas, 0.99 ½ × 0.87 (No. 173).

Belongs to a series of pictures intended to be more or less true likenesses of a Turkish princess. About 1555. Crowe and Cavalcaselle: "Entirely repainted . . . seems more work of a pupil." Morelli: "In its present state it does not look like anything." Berenson takes it as genuine. This is not very convincing.

Dresden.—*Portrait of Lady in red Dress.* Canvas, 1.35 × 0.89½ (No. 176).

Picture of later time. Ascribed by Crowe and Cavalcaselle to Bernardino Licinio. Morelli and Berenson take it as an original. This seems not beyond doubt. Bought in 1746 from Modena.

Munich. — Royal Pinakothek. *Vanitas.* Canvas, 0.98 × 0.82 (No. 1110).

Belongs to a group of early pictures, done in the Giorgionesque period; therefore even by Crowe and Cavalcaselle mentioned with Giorgione's works. It stands between the "Salome" in the Doria Gallery and the "Flora" in the Uffizi. Another picture of this group is the "Sibyl," known in various replicas (*e.g.*, Marostica, near Treviso, Cav. Sorio). Ancient Electoral Gallery, Munich.

Munich. — *Portrait of Man.* Canvas on wood, 0.88 × 0.74 (No. 1111).

Half-length figure in black dress. Belongs to the end of his Giorgionesque period, towards the development of his more personal style. Formerly in the Gallery, Düsseldorf.

Munich.—*Portrait of Charles V.* Canvas, 2.00 × 1.18 (No. 1112). Signed: Titianus, F. MDXLVIII.

Painted in Augsburg. It is not mentioned in the old Spanish inventories, and may therefore have been painted for the Duke of Bavaria. From the Electoral Gallery, Munich.

Munich.—*Virgin and Child.* Canvas, 1.72 × 1.32 (No. 1113). Signed : Titianus Fecit.

In Titian's late style, certainly not painted earlier than 1550, possibly even much later. Bought in Paris, in 1815, from General Sebastiani ; it is said to have been in Spain. A fine replica in the private collection of the King of Sweden (*see* Sirèn, "Dessins et tableaux . . . dans les collections de Suède," Stockholm, 1902, p. 94).

Munich.—*The Crowning with Thorns.* Canvas, 2.80 × 1.81 (No. 1114).

One of the latest known pictures by Titian, done a very short time before his death. Ridolfi (i. p. 187) mentions such picture as having been in the possession of Tintoretto. Ancient Electoral Gallery, Munich.

ITALY

Ancona.—Gallery. *Christ on the Cross.* Canvas. Signed : Titianus Fecit.

Christ on the Cross, with the Virgin, St. John, and St. Dominic, who kneels embracing the Cross. In Titian's late style, about 1560, but, as Vasari mentions it (vii. p. 453), not later than 1566. From the Church of San Domenico, Ancona, where it adorned the high altar.

Ancona.—S. Domenico. *Altar-piece of the Madonna with St. Francis and St. Blasius.* Wood. Signed : Aloyxius Gotius Ragusinus Fecit fieri M.DXX. Titianus Cadorinus pinsit.

For composition it is very like the S. Nicolò Altar-piece, now in the Vatican. Formerly in the Church of San Francesco.

*** Ascoli (Marches).**—S. Francesco. *St. Francis receiving the Stigmata.* Canvas. Signed : Titianus Vecelius Cadub.

With the portrait of the donor, Desiderio Guidi. The Chapel for which this picture was painted was decorated in 1561. So this will probably be the date of the picture.

Brescia.—S. Nazaro e Celso. *Polyptych.* Central part : *Resurrection.* Top parts : *Annunciation.* Part to the left : *SS. Nazaro and Celso*

with kneeling figure of Bishop Averoldo. Part to the right: *St. Sebastian.* Signed: Ticianus Faciebat, M.D.XXII.

Titian was at work at this altar-piece in 1520, as we know through a letter of the Ferrarese envoy (published by Campori).

Castel Roganzuolo. (near Conegliano)—Triptych. Central part: *Virgin and Child.* Part to the left: *St. Peter.* Part to the right: *St. Paul.* Full-length figures.

Payments for this work run from 1543 up to 1560. In 1549 and 1550 the different parts were carried from Venice to Castel Roganzuolo (*see* Gardin, "Errori, etc."). The Virgin is ascribed by Crowe and Cavalcaselle to some inferior Trevisan artist, the figures of the two Saints to Orazio Vecellio.

Florence.—Uffizi. *Portrait of Eleonora Gonzaga, Duchess of Urbino.* Canvas, 1.11 × 1.02 (No. 599).

Painted 1536 to 1538, at Venice. Destined possibly for the Imperiale, it was preserved till 1631 at Urbino. With all the art treasures of the della Rovere family it came in this year to Florence (*see* Gotti, "Le Gallerie di Firenze," Florence, 1872, p. 333).

Florence.—Uffizi. *Portrait of Francesco Maria I. della Rovere, Duke of Urbino.* Canvas, 1.13 × 1.00 (No. 605). Signed: Titianus F.

First mentioned in a letter of the Duke of May 1536, which proves that the Duke's arms were in Titian's studio (*see* Luzio, "Un pronostico satirico," p. 99). 1538 it arrived at Pesaro. For its later history, *see above.*

Florence.—Uffizi. *Flora.* Canvas, 0.79 × 0.63 (No. 626).

This must be the latest of the half-length pictures of women, done in Titian's earlier days. The approximate date will be about 1515. Mentioned in the early part of the seventeenth century as belonging to Don Alfonso Lopez, Spanish Ambassador at Amsterdam, it came into the collection of Archduke Leopold Wilhelm. About 1792 from Vienna to Florence, on the occasion of an exchange of pictures (*see* Frimmel, "Geschichte der Wiener Gemäldesammlungen," vol. i. p. 257).

Florence.—Uffizi. *Madonna with St. Anthony.* Wood, 0.79 × 1.15 (No. 633). Signed: Ticianus f. (inscription doubtful).

Seems to be somewhat later than the Madrid "Santa Conversazione," earlier than the picture in Dresden or the "Madonna with the Cherries"

Compare the Child with the one in the "Gipsy Madonna" at Vienna, a development of the same forms. Painted about 1506. Belonged to the gallery of Archduke Leopold Wilhelm; from Vienna to Florence, on the occasion of an exchange, about 1792 (*see* Frimmel, "Geschichte der Wiener Gemäldesammlungen," vol. i. pp. 162 and 257).

Florence.—Uffizi. *Venus with little Amor.* Canvas, 1.36 × 1.93 (No. 1108).

This picture, of the same composition as the Venus in Madrid, must be of about the same period, *i.e.*, 1545. Its history is not well known; it did not belong to the della Rovere family, as in the inventories of this house only one picture of Venus is mentioned; evidently the No. 1117 of the Uffizi. It may be identical with the "Venus" shortly described in a book of the Guardaroba of Grand Duke Cosimo II. in the year 1621.

Florence.—Uffizi. *Portrait of Bishop Beccadelli.* Canvas, 1.17 × 0.97 (No. 1116). Signed: Titianus Vecellius faciebat, Venetiis MDLII mense Julii.

A long inscription gives name, title, and age of the person portrayed. From the collection of Cardinal Leopoldo de' Medici (Inventory of 1675).

Florence.—Uffizi. *Venus of Urbino.* Canvas, 1.18 × 1.67 (No. 1117).

This picture was painted for Prince Guidobaldo della Rovere, and is mentioned in a letter of the year 1538. Vasari describes it as in the Guardaroba at Urbino. In Florence since 1631.

Florence.—Pitti Gallery. *La Bella.* Canvas, 1.00 × 0.76 (No. 18).

To this picture Francesca Maria, Duke of Urbino, probably alludes in a letter of the year 1536. Later in the Ducal Collections. Described in the "List of Fine Pictures" which, in 1631, were taken over to Florence, with the indication that here the same personality is painted as in the "Venus" picture.

Florence.—Pitti Gallery. *Portrait of Aretino.* Canvas, 0.98 × 0.76 (No. 54).

Aretino presented Duke Cosimo I. de' Medici with this portrait in October 1545, as is known through his letter to this Prince ("Lettere di P. Aretino," Paris, 1609, vol. iii. p. 238).

Florence.—Pitti Gallery. *St. Mary Magdalen.* Wood, 0.85 × 0.68 (No. 67).

The exact date when it was painted is not known; it must be of about 1530 to 1535. Vasari saw it in the Guardaroba of the Urbino Palace. In Florence since 1631.

Florence.—Pitti Gallery. *Portrait of a Man* ("The Young Englishman" or "Duke of Norfolk"). Canvas, 1.11 × 0.93 (No. 92).

Date when it was executed and history uncertain. Its date must be 1540 to 1545 (about). Though probably from Urbino, it is not to be identified beyond doubt by means of the short indications of the inventories. Mentioned in the Pitti inventory of 1687.

Florence.—Pitti Gallery. *A Concert.* Canvas, 1.08 × 1.22 (No. 185).

This picture was bought by Cardinal Leopoldo de' Medici from Paolo del Sera, a well-known merchant-amateur at Venice, in 1654. From this time it passed unquestioned as one of the most famous paintings by Giorgione. Morelli was the first to ascribe it to Titian; he has been followed by a great number of authorities. His attribution certainly is right for the greater part of the picture, especially the dominant figure in the centre; but the figure of the youth to the left seems of a somewhat earlier date, and may have been painted by Giorgione. If this idea is right, it would be one of the pictures Giorgione left unfinished at his death.

Florence.—Pitti Gallery. *Portrait of Philip II.* Canvas, 1.85 × 0.91 (No. 200).

This portrait differs from the best portrait of Philip II. by Titian—the one in Madrid—as the figure here is more seen in profile. It was done, either in 1548, from the sketch made at Milan, or 1550, at Augsburg, and presented by Titian to Duke Cosimo I. (Vasari, t. vii. p. 450). Crowe and Cavalcaselle attribute this picture to a pupil, who had copied the portrait at Naples.

Florence.—Pitti Gallery. *Portrait of Cardinal Ippolito de' Medici.* Canvas, 1.38 × 1.06 (No. 201).

This portrait must have been painted in Venice October 1532, during a short visit of the Cardinal, or in the following year at Bologna. In style it is remarkably like the portrait of Charles V. with the dog, in Madrid. In Vasari's time it was preserved in the Guardaroba of Duke Cosimo I.

Florence.—Pitti Gallery. *Portrait of Man.* Canvas, 1.76 × 1.12 (No. 215).

Erroneously identified with the portrait of the Ambassador Diego de Mendoza, mentioned by Vasari (vol. vii. p. 445) as being one of the first full-length portraits. The person portrayed is not known and the history of the picture quite uncertain ; it may have been painted about 1548.

Florence.—Pitti Gallery. *The Saviour.* Wood, 1.78 × 0.55 (No. 228).

This figure of Christ in profile was painted in 1532–3 by order of Duke Francesco Maria, who made with it a present to the Duchess Eleonora. It came in 1631 to Florence.

Florence.—Pitti Gallery. *Portrait of Tommaso Mosti.* Canvas, 0.85 × 0.66 (No. 495).

An old inscription on the back gives the name of the person represented, his age and the date 1526. This seems, judging from the style of the picture, too late, and the picture may have been by ten years (and even more) earlier. It is like the Portrait of a Man in Munich. Much damaged.

Florence.—Pitti Palace, State Rooms. *Portrait of Duchess of Urbino.* Wood. i. ii × 0.85.

This probably is the portrait of Giulia Varana, Duchess of Urbino, spoken of in the Urbino Correspondences of the years 1546 and 1547. Not to be identified with certainty in the old inventories. Taken down from some store-rooms of the Palace about two or three years ago and exhibited in one of the State rooms under the name, "Portrait of Catherine de' Medici by Tintoretto." That this is not the likeness of the French Queen is fully proved by her various portraits, preserved in Florence. In style it comes very near to the portrait of Eleonora Gonzaga in the Uffizi.

***Genoa.**—Balbi Senarega Palace. *Santa Conversazione.*

The Madonna with the Child, with Saint Dominic, Catherine and a Donor, in a landscape. All authorities accept it as a genuine work. Crowe and Cavalcaselle : of the time of the Bacchanals.

***Maniago** (Friuli).—CONTE MANIAGO. *Portrait of Irene di Spilimbergo.* Canvas.

Painted after the death of Irene (1559), but, as it is mentioned by Vasari (vii. p. 455), before the year 1566. More than half-length figure,

leaning against the basement of columns. (A bad reproduction in Conte Maniago, "Storia delle belle arti Friulane," Udine, 1823.)

***Maniago.**—CONTE MANIAGO. *Portrait of Emilia di Spilimbergo.* Canvas.

Described as a very similar picture to the portrait just mentioned.

***Médole** (near Mantua).—Church of Santa Maria. *The Assumption of the Virgin.* Canvas, 1.76 × 1.98.

The Virgin, after her assumption, adoring the Saviour, in presence of Adam and Eve and two patriarchs. Painted for the church where Pomponio Vecellio was titular canon; about 1554.

Milan.—Brera. *St. Jerome.* Wood, 2.23 × 1.35 (No. 248). Signed: Titianus F. (or Ticianus ?).

It belongs to Titian's later period, and may not be earlier than 1550. Formerly in Santa Maria Nuova, Venice.

Milan.—Brera. *Portrait of Conte Antonio Porcia.* Canvas, 1.10 × 0.90 (No. 288 *bis*). Signed: Titianus.

In style it has so much affinity with works of about 1540 to 1543 that it must be assigned to that date. Formerly in Castle Porcia, near Pordenone. Presented to the Gallery in 1892 by the Duchess Litta Visconti.

Milan.—SIGNOR B. CRESPI. *The Slavonian Lady.* Canvas, 1.17 × 0.97. Signed: T(IC ?)V.

Crowe and Cavalcaselle: "Reminds us of the period of Titian's competition with Giorgione; much injured." Berenson: "Copy after lost picture of Giorgione." Cook · "Portrait of Catherine Cornaro, by Giorgione." Venturi: "B. Licinio." Evidently done under Giorgione's strong influence. There is no reason to doubt the old and genuine signature. In the first part of the seventeenth century it belonged to Count Alessandro Martinengo, and remained in the possession of the family Martinengo-Colleoni up to the nineteenth century. Bought by its present owner from Signor Riccardi, Bergamo. (*See* Bonomi, "Il quadro, etc.," Bergamo, 1886.)

Naples.—Gallery. *Portrait of Pope Paul III., with Ottavio and Alessandro Farnese,* Canvas (Sala IV., No. 20).

The picture was probably painted in Rome shortly after Titian's arrival; it is unfinished. It remained, with the art treasures of the Farnese family, in Parma, and is described in the inventory of the year 1680 (Campori, "Raccolta," p. 237). Transferred to Naples in 1734.

Naples.—Gallery. *Danäe.* Canvas (Sala V., No. 5).

Painted in Rome 1545–46, as Ridolfi relates, for Ottavio Farnese. See also Vasari, vii. p. 447. In the Farnese inventory of 1680 (Campori, p. 212).

Naples.—Gallery. *Portrait of Paul III.* Canvas (Sala V., No. 8).

Probably the earliest portrait of Paul III. Titian painted, as the Pope seems younger than in the various other portraits; done in Bologna, 1543. In the Farnese inventory (Campori, p. 233).

Naples.—Gallery. *Portrait of Philip II.* Canvas (Sala V., No. 11). Signed: Titianus Eques Caes. F.

The portrait exactly like the one in the Pitti Gallery, with the only difference that the figure is standing against a neutral background. Not mentioned in the Farnese inventories.

***Naples.**—Gallery. *St. Mary Magdalen.* Canvas. Signed: Titianus P. (Sala vii., No. 36).

Probably the picture which Titian mentions in a letter to Cardinal Farnese, 1567 (published by Ronchini). See the Farnese inventory (Campori, p. 227). A great number of replicas are known.

Padua.—Scuola del Carmine. *The Meeting of Joachim and Anna.* Fresco.

Though much injured by restorers, this fresco seems to be a genuine work by Titian. It is thoroughly Giorgionesque and has at the same time some affinity with Palma's works, as all works of this period—1511. The landscape has still all its fine qualities.

Padua.—Scuola del Santo. *Three Frescoes with Miracles of St. Anthony.*

Titian signed, December 2, 1511, for the receipt of four ducats, the remainder of the sum owing to him for the three pictures painted for the

Scuola. This is the earliest document known up to date, in which Titian's name appears (published by Gonzati, "La Basilica di S. Antonio," Padua, 1852, vol. i. p. cxliii.). Restored with oil painting.

Rome.—Gallery Borghese. *Sacred and Profane Love.* Canvas, 1.18 × 2.79 No. (147).

The highest achievement of Titian's art at the end of his Giorgionesque period. Evidently painted about 1512. Ordered by Niccolò Aurelio, Great Chancellor of Venice, whose arms are seen in the front of the fountain, it is for the first time mentioned as belonging to Cardinal Scipione Borghese in 1613. Van Dyck made a rapid sketch of the picture (*see* his sketch-book, published by L. Cust, Plate xl.).

Rome.—Gallery Borghese. *The Education of Cupid.* Canvas, 1.18 × 1.85 (No. 170).

It is not known when Titian painted this picture, nor for whom; but it belongs to his very late period, and may be ascribed to the year 1568 (about). First mentioned as belonging to the Borghese collection in 1613. Sketched by Van Dyck (Cust, Plate xli.).

Rome. — Gallery Borghese. *St. Dominic.* Canvas, 0.97 × 0.78 No. (188).

Very impressive picture of the Saint, in half-length figure, done about 1565 or not much later. Its style recalls especially the portrait of Strada, in Vienna.

Rome.—The Capitol Gallery. *Baptism of Christ.* Wood (?) (No. 145).

Painted at the end of his Giorgionesque period, about 1510 to 1512. Though the picture is described by Marc Antonio Michiel (the Anonimo Morelliano), who saw it, in 1531, in the house of Giovanni Ram, the donor of it, it is not accepted by Crowe and Cavalcaselle, but ascribed to Paris Bordone. Morelli restored it to Titian.

Rome.—Chigi Palace. *Portrait of Pietro Aretino.* Canvas, 0.99 × 0.82.

Aretino seems older than in the Pitti portrait; therefore, as for the style, one has to put it down a few years later. It is so remarkably like the Granvella portrait at Besançon (1548), that they seem to have been painted at the same period. Not mentioned by Crowe and Cavalcaselle,

but as genuine in Cavalcaselle's "Spigolature Tizianesche" and in Morelli. A portrait, possibly this one, by Titian, belonged in 1664 to Cardinal Chigi (*see* Bertolotti, "Artisti Veneti in Roma," p. 59).

Rome.—Gallery Doria Pamphili. *Salome.* Canvas (?) (No. 388).

It is earlier in style than the "Vanitas" and the "Flora"; but later than the figure of St. Catherine, of the altar-piece in San Marcuola, where this type is already visible, though not fully developed. It is not easy to understand the attribution to Pordenone, given by Crowe and Cavalcaselle, but rejected by Morelli. A picture of this subject is described in the seventeenth century as belonging to Duke Salviati (*see* Silos, "Pinacotheca," Rome, 1673, p. 138). In the beginning of the eighteenth century in the Aldobrandini Villa (Deseine, "Rome moderne," Leide, 1713, t. iii. p. 501). Various replicas described and known, especially one in the collection of Mr. R. H. Benson, London.

Rome.—Gallery of the Vatican. *Altar-piece of the Virgin with six Saints.* Canvas, 3.98 × 2.63. Signed: Titianus Faciebat.

Painted for the Chapel of S. Nicolò, situated in the cloister of the Frari Convent, Venice. The date of 1523, generally assigned to this work, is not quite certain, as the passage in Sanuto's diaries alludes to another Chapel of S. Nicolò, belonging to the Ducal Palace. But it must be the approximate date, as the comparison with the Ancona Altar-piece (1520) and the Pesaro Madonna (finished 1526) proves. Under the reign of Pope Clemens XIV. transferred to Rome. Northcote, in 1778, relates that the picture then was cut in two parts. Formerly in the Quirinal. The top part with the dove has been cut away and lost.

Serravalle.—The Duomo. *Altar-piece of the Virgin with Angels; St. Peter and St. Andrew.* Canvas. Signed: Titian.

Ordered in 1542, mentioned as finished 1547, payments for it up to 1553 (*see* Crowe and Cavalcaselle, vol. ii., documents lxiii. ff. and lxviii.).

Treviso.—The Duomo. *The Annunciation.* Wood.

Painted for the chapel of Canon Malchiostro, which was decorated with frescoes by Pordenone in 1519. The picture, compared with the "Assunta," Venice, seems slightly earlier; and as we know by documents

that Titian was at Treviso in 1517, it may be that he took over to this place the already finished picture (*see* Biscaro, "Gazzetta di Treviso," January 1, 1898). Compare the Virgin with the Virgin in the Paris and Dresden "Santa Conversazione," and also with the "Flora."

Urbino.—Gallery. *The Resurrection.* Canvas, 1.00 × 0.75.

This picture, together with the following, formed originally a processional banner, ordered by the brotherhood of the Corpus Domini of Urbino. Titian was paid for from 1542 to 1544, in which latter year it was carried over to Urbino and surrounded with an ornament by the painter Pietro Viti (*see* Scatassa, "Repertorium," vol. xxv. p. 443). A short time later the pictures were framed and no more used for processions. Compare it with the Vienna "Ecce Homo" and the "Supper at Emmaus" in Paris.

Urbino.—Gallery. *The Last Supper.* Canvas, 1.00 × 0.75.
For its history, *see above.*

Venice.—Academy. *The Assunta.* Wood, 6.90 × 3.60 (No. 40). Signed: Ticianus.

Painted for the high altar of the Church of the Frari, Venice, 1516 to 1518; put on the altar May 19, 1518. Transferred to the Academy in 1817, and restored on that occasion.

Venice.—Academy. *St. John the Baptist.* Canvas, 1.97 × 1.33 (No. 314). Signed: Ticianus.

Generally accepted as a later work, of about 1550, which seems especially proved by the landscape. Anyhow, one cannot overlook the strong likeness in form between this figure and the St. Sebastian in the Brescia Polyptych (dated 1522). From the Church of Santa Maria Maggiore, Venice.

Venice.—Academy. *The Pietà.* Canvas, 3.50 × 3.95 (No. 400). Signed: Quod Titianus Inchoatum Reliquit, Palma Reverenter Absolvit, Deoque Dicavit Opus.

Titian's latest work, left unfinished at his death. Finished by Palma Giovine. From the Church of St. Angelo, Venice.

Venice.—Academy. *The Presentation of the Virgin.* Canvas, 3.46 × 7.75 (No. 626).

Painted between 1534 and 1538, in which latter year the picture is mentioned as "already done" (*see* Cantalamessa, "Le Gallerie nazionali

italiane," vol. ii., Rome, 1896, p. 37 ff.). Done for the Scuola della Carità. Taken from its original place in 1797 and restored, with the addition of two rectangular pieces. At present again on the wall and in the room for which it was painted.

Venice.—Ducal Palace. *St. Christopher.* Fresco.

The latest-known fresco painting by Titian. Done in Doge Gritti's time, very probably shortly after his election as Doge (1523), as in style it is to be compared with works of this period, the St. Sebastian, Brescia, or the St. Nicholas in the Vatican picture.

Venice.—Ducal Palace. *La Fede.* Canvas.

The only one preserved of the votive pictures, with the figure of a Doge, which Titian had to paint as the official painter. All others destroyed in 1574 or 1577, by fire. Ordered in 1555, it was still unfinished in 1566, when Vasari visited Titian's studio. Two figures added by a pupil.

Venice.—Royal Palace (formerly St. Mark's Library). *Ceiling Picture of Wisdom.* Canvas, octagon.

Crowe and Cavalcaselle date it 1559, in which year Titian estimated the works done by Cristoforo Rosa for this building.

Venice.—Scuola di San Rocco. *The Annunciation.*

This picture was bequeathed to the Scuola by a lawyer, Amelio Cortona, in 1555. Crowe and Cavalcaselle date it about 1525, but this seems about twenty years too early. Drawing, drapery, landscape all indicate the period of about 1545. Compare it with the "Tobias and the Archangel."

Venice.—I Gesuiti. *The Martyrdom of St. Lawrence.* Canvas, 5.50 × 3.00. Signed: Titianus Vecelius Aeques F.

The picture is said to have been ordered by Elisabetta, widow of Lorenzo Massolo (d. 1556), to decorate his chapel in the convent of the Crocicchieri, Venice. It is mentioned in a letter of the Spanish Ambassador of the year 1564 as "done many years ago." (Crowe and Cavalcaselle, vol. ii., document cxvii.) In style it corresponds perfectly with the other pictures between 1555 and 1560. To-day so blackened that it is almost invisible and gives no artistic pleasure. The replica painted for Philip II. is in the Escorial.

Venice.—San Giovanni Elemosinario. *St. John the Almsgiver.* Canvas, 3.50 × 1.50.

Painted for the high altar of the church, which has an inscription with the date 1533. This probably is also the date when the picture was finished; but it may be that it was done some years later.

Venice.—San Lio. *St. Frances of Compostella.* Canvas.

Painted in Titian's late style, of about 1565 to 1570. Figure life-size with a landscape which seems very impressive. Of all pictures by Titian in Venice, the most neglected and almost unrecognisable for dust and smoke.

Venice.—San Marcuola. *Christ Child with Saint Catherine and Saint Andrew.*

Crowe and Cavalcaselle: "In the manner of Francesco Vecellio or Santo Zago." Morelli and others regard it as genuine. Early work of the time when Titian painted the Fondaco frescoes (1508); there were, to judge from Zanetti's engravings, similar figures to the St. Catherine in this picture. Compare this Saint with the Salome, Gallery Doria.

Venice.—San Marziale. *Tobias with the Archangel.* Canvas, 2.00 × 1.45.

Vasari relates that Titian painted it in 1507, "at the time of the war of the Emperor Maximilian, *as he himself tells* (vli. p. 430)." But the style is in flagrant contradiction to Vasari's statement, and therefore the picture is put down by Crowe and Cavalcaselle to the same time as the "Presentation of the Virgin." This may be the right date, but it is not impossible that it was done a short time later, 1540 to 1543.

Venice.—Santa Maria della Salute. *St. Mark enthroned with four Saints.* Canvas (?) 2.75 × 1.70 (Lafenestre. Crowe and Cavalcaselle: 1.48 h.).

This picture, as all the other works by Titian in the Salute Church, was originally done for Santo Spirito in Isola. The paintings were translated to their present place in the seventeenth century. The St. Mark is so thoroughly Giorgionesque, that "great many have taken it for Giorgione's work" (Vasari, vii. p. 432). It seems, therefore, too late a date to ascribe it to the year 1512, as Crowe and Cavalcaselle do. The four Saints indicate that it served as a votive picture after a plague; therefore it ought to be put down shortly after 1504. The composition is quite in the Quattrocento scheme.

Venice.—Santa Maria della Salute. *The Descent of the Holy Spirit.* Canvas, 5.00 × 2.50.

Vasari relates that Titian painted in 1541, for the friars of Santo Spirito the "Descent of the Holy Spirit"; that this picture after a short time suffered so much that he had to make it afresh; "and this picture is at present over the altar" (vii. p. 444). This story merits full consideration, as Vasari exactly at this time was in Venice. Furthermore, there is a letter in which Titian asks the Cardinal Farnese to interfere in his favour. This second version, therefore, must be after about 1543–1544. Considering its almost impressionistic technique, it seems painted at the period of the "Trinity," done for Charles V. and finished in 1554.

Venice.—Santa Maria della Salute. *Eight Medallions.*

Ceiling pictures behind the high altar representing the Evangelists and the Fathers of the Church. The St. Matthew is Titian's own likeness. Probably painted at the same time with the other works for Santo Spirito, shortly after 1541.

Venice.—Santa Maria della Salute. *Three Ceiling Pictures.*

Vasari tells that he had made, in 1541, on Sansovino's advice, designs for three ceiling pictures for Santo Spirito, but that his departure from Venice impeded the execution (vii. p. 446). The three paintings were evidently done not much later; they prelude the similar works of four gigantic mythological figures, done in 1549 for Queen Mary, of which two are preserved in Madrid.

Venice.—Santa Maria Gloriosa de' Frari. *The Pesaro Madonna.*

The payments made by the Bishop Jacopo Pesaro run from 1519 to 1526. Exhibited in this latter year. The group of Virgin and Child is in style the earliest part of this altar-piece and reminds one very much of the "Sante Conversazione" of the period just before.

Venice.—San Salvatore. *The Annunciation.* Canvas, 4.00 × 2.00 (Lafenestre). Signed: Titianus Fecit Fecit.

In Titian's late style, painted after 1560, but, as Vasari saw it, before 1566.

Venice.—San Salvatore. *The Transfiguration.* Canvas, 3.00 × 2.00 (Lafenestre).

Painted at the same time as the picture just mentioned. Much injured and heavily restored.

Venice.—San Sebastiano. *S. Nicholas of Bari.* Wood, 1.75 × 0.90 Signed: Titianus P.

Painted for the chapel belonging to Niccolo Crasso, a Venetian lawyer, which bears the date of 1563. The picture, taken by itself, would seem of an earlier date, between 1540 to 1550; but it is possible that the assistant who had his share in the execution might have studied some earlier works of his master. Anyhow, the figure of the Saint, as well as the composition, is Titian's own work.

Verona.—The Dome. *The Assumption of the Virgin.* Canvas.

The history of the picture is not well known. Crowe and Cavalcaselle date it about the same period as the Vienna "Ecce homo," 1543; but this seems to be a very late date, seeing the likeness of the composition to such pictures as the Ancona altar-piece (1520) or the Vatican picture (about 1523). Compare it further with the Paris "Entombment" of the same period.

RUSSIA

***St. Petersburg.**—Hermitage. *St. Mary Magdalen.* Canvas, 1.19 × 0.98 (No. 98). Signed: Titianus P.

This picture entirely corresponds (with the exception of some insignificant variations) with the picture in Naples. The landscape seems especially fine. Painted about 1565. Bought in 1850 from the Barbarigo Palace, Venice.

***St. Petersburg.**—*The Toilet of Venus.* Canvas, 1.24 × 1.045 (No. 99).

To judge from the style, this picture may have been painted about 1550 (compare it with the "Venus" of the Tribuna). This seems to be the finest of all replicas known. Bought 1850 from the Barbarigo Palace, Venice.

***St. Petersburg.**—*Danae.* Canvas, 1.19 × 1.87 (No. 100).

This replica of the Madrid picture, from which it differs only in less important details, seems to have been done by Titian himself. It is said to have been in the Granvella collection. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in various French collections; finally it belonged to Crozat. Bought in 1771.

***St. Petersburg.**—*Portrait of Paul III.* Canvas, 0.98 × 0.79 (No. 101).

This picture stands nearest to one at Naples ; it seems to be a sketch from life. Done probably at Rome, as the Pope appears somewhat older, in 1546 or 1547. Bought in 1850 from the Barbarigo Palace, Venice.

SPAIN

Madrid.—*Santa Conversazione.* Wood, 0.86 × 1.30 (No. 236).

The Madonna, with St. Bridget and St. Ulphus. This picture, attributed in the Madrid Gallery to Giorgione, is recognised by all authorities as an early work by Titian. It must have been painted about 1505. Compare the St. Ulphus with the figure of St. Roch in the St. Marco altar-piece in Santa Maria della Salute, Venice. Formerly in the Escorial.

Madrid.—*A Bacchanal.* Canvas, 1.75 × 1.93 (No. 450).

Painted for Duke Alfonso d'Este, probably 1518–1519. The picture remained in the first "camerino d' alabastro" in the Castle of Ferrara up to 1598. Cardinal Aldobrandini took it away from its original place and sent it to Rome (Venturi, "Galleria Estense di Modena," p. 113). Later in the Ludovisi Palace, Rome. Presented to King Philip IV. by Cardinal Ludovisi in 1638.

Madrid.—*The Worship of Venus.* Canvas, 1.72 × 1.75 (No. 451).

Probably the earliest of the mythological pictures painted for the Duke of Ferrara about 1516. History of this picture as above.

Madrid.—The so-called *Alfonso d'Este.* Wood, 1.25 × 0.99 (No. 452) Signed : Ticiano (Crowe and Cavalcaselle, not in the catalogue).

It is evidently not the likeness of Duke Alfonso, whose genuine portrait by Titian is preserved in a good old copy (Pitti Gallery, No. 311). Justi thinks it to be a portrait of Duke Ercole II. d'Este (s. Jahrbuch, xv.), and Müntz, who mentions a replica in Mme. André's collection, is of the same opinion ("Chronique des Arts," 16 Juin 1894). I am not convinced by their statements, and think it might be a portrait of Federic, Marquis of Mantua. Painted about 1525. In the Spanish collections since the time of King Charles II.

Madrid.—*Charles V. with a Dog.* Canvas, 1.92 × 1.11 (No. 453).

This is the earliest of the known portraits which Titian painted from Charles V.; painted 1530 or 1533 in Bologna. Probably at once taken to Spain. Inventory of Madrid Palace, of the year 1600, described as No. 1191. In 1623 given to Prince Charles, it formed part of Charles I.'s famous gallery; bought at the sale of his pictures for the Spanish king.

Madrid.—*Philip II.* Canvas, 1.93 × 1.11 (No. 454).

Painted at Augsburg 1550–1551. Belonged first to the collection of Queen Mary, Regent of the Netherlands; taken over to Spain in 1556. Mentioned in the inventories of 1558 and 1600 (No. 1231).

Madrid.—*Venus and Adonis.* Canvas, 1.86 × 2.07 (No. 455).

Painted for Philip II. and sent over to England in 1554. It arrived in London hardly damaged; these injuries are still visible. A great number of replicas are known—*e.g.*, National Gallery, No. 34. Crowe and Cavalcaselle accept a picture at Alnwick Castle as the original sketch, while they think that Orazio Vecellio had collaborated in the Madrid picture.

Madrid.—*The Fall of Man.* Canvas, 2.40 × 1.86 (No. 456). Signed: Titianus F.

This must be one of Titian's very late pictures, painted about 1570. It is not mentioned in the correspondence. In the sacristy of the chapel of the Madrid Palace (Inventory of Philip II.), later in the Bóvedas. Much damaged in the fire of 1734, and restored by F. de Miranda. A fine copy by Rubens at Madrid.

Madrid.—*Charles V. at the Battle of Mühlberg.* Canvas, 3.32 × 2.79 (No. 457).

Painted in 1548 at Augsburg, it was only finished in September of this year (*see* Titian's letter to Granvella, published by Zarco del Valle). First in the collection of Queen Mary; then in the Prado, later in the Alcazar, where it adorned the great Salon. It suffered much in 1734 by the fire, especially in the under part, and has been restored at different times.

Madrid.—*Danae.* Canvas, 1.28 × 1.78 (No. 458).

Painted for Philip II., finished 1554. Differing from the Naples picture in some details of composition, and specially in the colour-

scheme. Later in the Bóvedas. Many replicas, corresponding with this later version (except for details).

Madrid.—*Venus.* Canvas, 1.36 × 2.20 (No. 459).

This must be the picture of Venus of which Titian speaks in his letter to Charles V., of December 1545, dated from Rome (*see* Charavay, "Autographes de B. Fillon," ii. p. 300). He took it with him from Venice to Augsburg in 1548 (*see* his letter to Cardinal Granvella, published by Zarco del Valle). First in the Spanish collection, later possibly in Charles I.'s; then in the Bóvedas. Restored after the fire of 1734. Great number of replicas known, of which the following number is especially important.

Madrid.—*Venus.* Canvas, 1.48 × 2.17 (No. 460).

This picture is a combination of the "Venus" in the Tribuna, Florence, and the picture in Madrid last mentioned. In the Bóvedas 1637. Later on in the Prado, then in the Madrid Palace. Restored after 1734. This picture, rejected by the best authorities, seems to me in part a genuine work (especially the landscape). It is very likely the one painted for Philip II., and mentioned in a letter of the Spanish Consul at Venice of 1567 (published by Zarco del Valle).

Madrid.—*Salome with the Head of the Baptist.* Canvas, 0.87 × 0.80 (No. 461).

As for the composition, it is like the portrait of Lavinia at Berlin. The colouring is more brilliant, deeper, in the Madrid picture. Painted about 1550. Possibly once in the collection of Charles I. of England. Collection of Charles II. of Spain. Crowe and Cavalcaselle: "Evidently work of an imitator." I think, with others, it is an original work.

Madrid.—*The Trinity* ("La Gloria"). Canvas, 3.46 × 2.40 (No. 462). Signed: Titianus P.

This picture was commissioned to Titian by Charles V.; it was finished in 1554, and forwarded to the Emperor. It is mentioned in the inventory of pictures Charles took with him over to Spain in 1556. He ordered in his last will that it should remain on the high altar of the Church of Yuste, where he had chosen his grave; but, together with the Emperor's corpse, the picture was transported to the Escorial, where it remained till the beginning of the nineteenth century.

Madrid.—*Portrait of a Knight of Malta.* Canvas, 1.22 × 1.01 (No. 463).

It is not known who is represented in this half length figure; in all probability it is one of the Spanish courtiers or envoys. It belongs to Titian's later period, and cannot have been painted before about 1550. Mentioned in an inventory of 1700.

Madrid.—*The Entombment of Christ.* Canvas, 1.37 × 1.75 (No. 464), Signed: Titianus Vecellius Eques Caesaris.

This composition of six figures was painted for Philip II. and sent to Spain in 1559. At the time of Philip's death in the Chapel at Aranjuez. Later on in the Escorial. Various replicas, in part done in Titian's workshop, are known, of which the one in Vienna (No. 179) may be mentioned.

Madrid.—*Sisyphus.* Canvas, 2.37 × 2.16 (No. 465).

This picture, together with the following, belongs to a series of four paintings done for Queen Mary. Two of them are mentioned in a letter of Granvella, 1549; three adorned, as one reads in Calvete de Estrella ("El felicissimo viaie del Principe Don Phelippe," Antwerp, 1552, p. 182), the Palace of Binche. Taken over to Spain in 1556, they were exhibited in the Alcazar at Madrid. In the seventeenth century the "Sisyphus" and "Prometheus" are mentioned as copies by Sanchez Coello; in later inventories they reappear as original works (*see* Justi, "Verzeichnis"; Jahrbuch, x.).

Madrid.—*Prometheus.* Canvas, 2.53 × 2.17 (No. 466).

As for its history, *see above.*

Madrid.—*Ecce Homo.* On stone, 0.69 × 0.59 (No. 467). Signed: Titianus.

This picture was painted by order of Charles V., presented by Titian to the Emperor on his arrival at Augsburg, 1548 (*see* Aretino's letters; Titian's letter to Cardinal Granvella). In 1556 the Emperor took the picture over to Spain: it is mentioned with a few others as being in Yuste after his death. Later in the Alcazar and Madrid Palace. Though highly finished, it seems not entirely Titian's own work.

Madrid.—*Mater Dolorosa.* On stone, 0.68 × 0.53 (No. 468).

Sent over to Charles V. in 1554. Companion of the preceding picture, with which it has a history in common. This version shows the

Virgin *en face;* the hands are making a painful gesture. Another composition, of which the one painted also for Charles V. is in Madrid (No. 475), shows the Virgin in profile and the hands together. Of this picture, which in composition is nobler, though it seems not quite genuine, many replicas are known (a fine one in the Uffizi).

Madrid.—*Saint Margaret.* Canvas, 2.42 × 1.82 (No. 469). Signed: Titianus. (*See* Crowe and Cavalcaselle.)

This picture is identified by Crowe and Cavalcaselle with one which Titian sent to Philip II. of Spain in 1552 (*see* vol. ii., document lxxiii.). But the letter speaks of a "portrait of St. Margareth," which probably indicates a half-length figure; and, judging from the style, the picture would be about fifteen years later. Formerly in the Escorial, later in the Alcazar. Restored after 1734. A similar picture described in the collection of Charles I.

Madrid.—*Allegory of the Battle of Lepanto.* Canvas, 3.35 × 2.74 (No. 470). Signed: Titianus Vecelius Aeques Caes. fecit.

This picture, which shows King Philip II. with his newborn son, Infant Don Ferdinand, was seen in May 1573 in Titian's studio by the envoy of the Duke of Urbino, and forwarded to Spain in September 1575 (*see* Zarco del Valle). Mentioned in the inventory of 1600 (No. 1348) as in the Casa del Tesoro. Later in the Alcazar.

Madrid.—*Allocution of the Marques del Vasto.* Canvas, 2.23 × 1.65 (No. 471).

Mentioned in various of Aretino's letters of the year 1540, not finished before 1541. Its history not sufficiently known. It is described in Charles I.'s collection; in 1667 in the Escorial; later in the Alcazar. Much injured by fire. Restored after 1734.

Madrid.—*The Religion.* Canvas, 1.68 × 1.68 (No. 476). Signed: Titianus F.

Vasari saw in 1566, in Titian's studio, an unfinished mythological picture, begun for Alfonso d'Este, which corresponds, as regards composition, exactly with this allegorical painting. It is not impossible that Titian transformed the earlier work into the one ordered by King Philip. It was sent, together with the "Allegory of the Battle of Lepanto," in 1575, to Spain (*see* Zarco del Valle). Later on in the Prado, the Alcazar, and the Escorial. A similar composition, slightly

varying, in the Doria Gallery at Rome (No. 366), is a contemporary work.

Madrid.—*Portrait of the Empress Isabella.* Canvas, 1.17 × 0.98 (No. 485).

Charles V. ordered this picture in 1543 and gave Titian a likeness of the Empress to work from. It was finished in 1545 and handed over to the Spanish Ambassador (*see* Crowe and Cavalcaselle, ii. doc. lxvii., and Charavay, "Autographes de B. Fillon," ii. p. 300). Possibly retouched by the artist himself at Augsburg, 1548. At Yuste at the time of the Emperor's death. Later on in the Prado and Alcazar.

Madrid.—*Noli me tangere.* Canvas, 0.68 × 0.62 (No. 489).

Only a part of the figure of Christ preserved, a fragment of the picture painted for Queen Mary, which the Ambassador Vargas saw in Titian's studio in 1553 (*see* Crowe and Cavalcaselle, ii. doc. lxxvi.). Inventory of 1558 (No. 36). Later in the Escorial. The whole composition preserved in Van Dyck's sketch-book (published by Lionel Cust. Plate x.).

UNITED STATES

***Boston.**—MRS. GARDNER. *The Rape of Europa.* Canvas. Signed : Titianus P.

The picture belongs to the mythological pictures painted for Philip II. First mentioned in a letter of the year 1559, it was finished in 1562. It was in the Royal Spanish collections up to an unknown date and reappears in the eighteenth century in the Galerie d'Orléans. Possibly it had passed through the collection of Duc de Grammont (*see above*, Diana and Actæon, Bridgewater House). Bought in 1799 first by Lord Berwick, then by the Earl of Darnley. In Cobham Hall till 1896. A Spanish copy at Hertford House.

New York.—MR. E. F. MILLIKEN.—*The Man with the Falcon.* Canvas, 42¼ in. × 37½ in. Signed : Titianus F.

Painted in Titian's middle period, about 1530 to 1540. Formerly believed to be the portrait of Giorgio Cornaro ; possibly one of Titian's princely patrons, as the Duke of Mantua. Not accepted by some modern authorities. Formerly in Castle Howard. Sold a few years ago to its present owner.

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